Desert Temples

Sacred Centers of Rajasthan in Historical, Art-Historical, and Social Contexts

Lawrence A. Babb John E. Cort Michael W. Meister

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Contents

Acknowledgments vii

Note on Language ix

List of Plates xi

Map xv

Introduction 1
Lawrence A. Babb, John E. Cort, and Michael W. Meister

Part I
HISTORIES

1 Sweetmeats or Corpses? 23
Michael W. Meister

2 Time and Temples 42
Lawrence A. Babb

Part II
STRUCTURES

3 Building a Temple 63
Michael W. Meister

4 Water in a Desert Landscape 79
Michael W. Meister

5 Light on the Lotus 84
Michael W. Meister

Part III
PILGRIMS AND PATRONS

6 Pilgrimage and Identity in Rajasthan 93
John E. Cort

7 Patronage, Authority, Proprietary Rights, and History 115
John E. Cort

Part IV
SOCIAL IDENTITIES

8 Constructing a Jain Mendicant Lineage 135
John E. Cort

9 Cleaving to the Goddess 170
Lawrence A. Babb

Bibliography 191

Index 205

Plates 209

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Chapters three, eight, and nine were first delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Chicago, April 2005. Chapter nine was also presented to a seminar at Le Centre d'Etudes de l'Inde et de l'Asie du Sud (EHESS) in March 2006. Chapters three and eight have not previously appeared in print. A different version of chapter nine will appear in *The Anthropologist and the Native: Essays for Gananath Obeyesekere*, edited by H. L. Seneviratne.

Note on Language

Much of our fieldwork was conducted in Hindi (and a lesser amount in English). We have used written sources in Hindi, Gujarati, and Sanskrit, in addition to English. The use of multiple Indic languages presents a problem of transliteration into English. In Hindi and Gujarati a final short *-a* is generally silent, whereas it is pronounced in Sanskrit. Similarly, in many cases in Hindi and Gujarati a medial short *-a-* disappears, whereas it is pronounced in Sanskrit. A word is therefore transliterated into English differently depending upon its Indic source language. For example, the same word is spelled Upkeś when it is originates from Hindi and Gujarati sources, but Upakeśa when those sources are in Sanskrit. We have used both styles of transliteration—vernacular Hindi and Gujarati, and classical Sanskrit—depending upon the cultural and intellectual milieu of the source. This is usually a Hindi or Gujarati milieu, but in places a Sanskrit one. We hope that the differences in spellings do not cause confusion, but there is no simple way to address this issue without losing the linguistic flavor of our many sources.

We have given English spellings of certain words that have come into English, such as Brahman (rather than Brāhmaṇ or Brāhmaṇa). We have spelled the names of deities with full transliteration, and the names of major deities in their Sanskrit forms; thus, Kṛṣṇa, Mahāvīra and, Śiva. We have used standard English spellings for all place names, as found on current maps of India. We are confident that a careful reader will find instances in which we have been inconsistent, for which we beg their indulgence.

List of Plates

Architectural and site documentation at Osian in 1998 was carried out with assistance from a team organized with the help of Anu Mridul, architect, Jodhpur. Two principal participants from his office were Rajendra Roop Rai and Ajay Ramavat. To these we extend our thanks. The pencil drawing of Sacciyā Mātā hill used in Plate 17 was drawn on-site by Ajit Parikh, architect, Ahmedabad. Earlier ground plans of Osian temples were drafted with assistance from Nadeem Shafi and used in the *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture* (Meister 1991c–e). Photographs and final drawings are © Michael W. Meister unless otherwise credited.

Plate 1. Khed, Raṇchoḍjī temple: mirrored ceiling in *gūḍha-maṇḍapa*; view into north ambulatory corridor; Osian, Sacciyā Mātā temple, view of *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* looking toward the eighth-century Sūrya shrine.

Plate 2. Raṇchoḍjī temple: forecourt in the 1920s and 1998; Osian, Mahāvīra, and Khed temples: ground plans with enclosed ambulatory paths (*sāndhāra*) and balconies (bottom).

Plate 3. Raṇchoḍjī (top) and Dadhimatī Mātā (bottom): temple compounds extended in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Plate 4. Dadhimatī Mātā temple: ground plan, ninth-century shrine (*prāsāda*) and four *cauk*s that redefined the temple in the nineteenth century.

Plate 5. Autochthonous goddesses in Rajasthan: roadside *sthāna*, Udaipur; Dadhimatī Mātā; Osian, Sacciyā Mātā.

Plate 6. Dadhimatī Mātā temple, ninth-century: south, west, and north walls of the *prāsāda* with central images of Gaṇeśa, Kṣemaṅkarī, and Pārvatī performing penance.

Plate 7. Dadhimatī Mātā temple: expansions in the twentieth century; site plan and location of the proposed new "Dharmshala of 700 rooms and dormitories" (courtesy Dadhimatī Mātā Temple Trust).

Plate 8. Sacciyā Mātā temple: ornamented interior of the twelfth-century *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* shared by the Sacciyā Mātā temple and four sub-shrines; Bhandarkar's 1906–7 sketches of the Mahāvīra and Sacciyā Mātā temple plans (courtesy: Harvard University Libraries).

Plate 9. Sacciyā Mātā and Mahāvīra temples, 1972.

Plate 10. Osian: scaled ground plans. The Mahāvīra temple plan shows the compound with revisions and additions, ca. 1998.

Plate 11. Osian, eighth-century temples: Sūrya temple no. 2 (with a replacement tenth-century *śikhara*); Harihara temple no. 1; Sūrya temple no. 1, with the tower of the twelfth-century replacement of the Sacciyā Mātā temple behind; and Harihara temple 2.

Plate 12. Osian: site plan with temple orientations.

Plate 13. Osian, step-well: catchment area; plan; and view from Sacciyā Mātā temple. The map detail is from Indian Atlas Continuation Sheet South 20 N.E., Government of India, Survey of India Offices, Calcutta 1888 (courtesy: Harvard University Map Room).

Plate 14. Osian, step-well: recent excavation of lower levels (courtesy: Rick Chapman); illustrations of Ratnaprabhasūri and Svayamprabhasūri at Osian from Jñānsundar (1929); Mandor (Jodhpur), rock-cut step-well inscribed VS 742/685 CE and the image of Mahādeva carved on the rock-face above.

Plate 15. Osian: drop-well, step-well, and tank.

Plate 16. Osian: site section; step-well elevation and plan.

Plate 17. Sacciyā Mātā hill: sketch (courtesy: Ajit Parikh), section and site plan.

Plate 18. Sacciyā Mātā hill: changes and additions, 1972–98.

Plate 19. Sacciyā Mātā temple compound: ground plan, 1972.

Plate 20. Sacciyā Mātā temple compound: ground plan, 1998.

Plate 21. Sacciyā Mātā hill: phases of development.

Plate 22. Mahāvīra temple: phases of development. Section and ground plan with reconstruction of the two-story entry hall.

Plate 23. Mahāvīra temple: demolished two-story entry hall (*valānaka*), court with *toraṇa* gateway, and NE side entry, documented in 1968.

Plate 24. Mahāvīra temple: section and ground plan with single-story entry hall, ca. 1998.

Plate 25. People as agents of change: Chuna Ram Prajapat, sculptor and mason; Chuna Ram with Gepu Khan, mason and architect; Bhanu Prakash, *pujārī*, Mahāvīra temple.

Plate 26. Kṣemaṅkarī sculpture, possibly the original eighth-century cult-image, now stored in the Sacciyā Mātā temple's *gūḍha-maṇḍapa*; Sūrya temple no. 2, north *bhadra*, eighth century sculpture of Durgā slaying the buffalo demon Mahisa (Mahiṣāsuramardinī); present image of Sacciyā Mātā, in the form of Mahiṣāsuramardinī, in the Sacciyā Mātā temple's central sanctum.

Plate 27. Dadhimatī Mātā temple: portable image in procession on the eighth day of Navrātrī, 4 April 1998; Didwana, Pādāmātā temple, north wall, ca. ninth century, Mahiṣāsuramardinī on the north *bhadra*, and, upper left, a small scene showing Durgā emerging from the earth in front of cowherds and cattle.

Plate 28. Jodhpur, Kriyā Bhavan: painting of Jñānsundar and marble *guru mūrti* of Jñānsundar (photographs Lawrence A. Babb); Osian, Luṇādri hill, *dādābāṛī*, installed in 1909 by Yati Premsundar, renovated 1952 (photograph John E. Cort). Dadhimatī Mātā temple: marble sculpture of Dadhīci *ṛṣi* enshrined in the northwest corner of the temple's colonnade; framed in *gūḍha-maṇḍapa*: a painting of Dadhimatī's emergence witnessed by a cowherd and a colored print of Dadhīci giving up his flesh.

Plate 29. Osian *sthānas* in community worship: Pīpalā Devī temple, sanctum, eighth-century icons of Kubera, Durgā-Mahiṣāsuramardinī, and Gaṇeśa (Durgā as Pīpalā Devī is occasionally worshiped as clan goddess by one patriclan of Bhojak priests); Luṇādri hill, *dādābāṛī*: lower footprints, Kanakaprabha, 1189 CE, upper footprints, Ratnaprabhasūri, installed by Yati Premsundar at instruction of

Jñānsundar, 1909. Kesarīya Kaṅvar image installed in Viṣṇu temple no. 1; Bhojak Bhomiyā, 1823 CE; Bhāti *jhunjhār* (photographs John E. Cort).

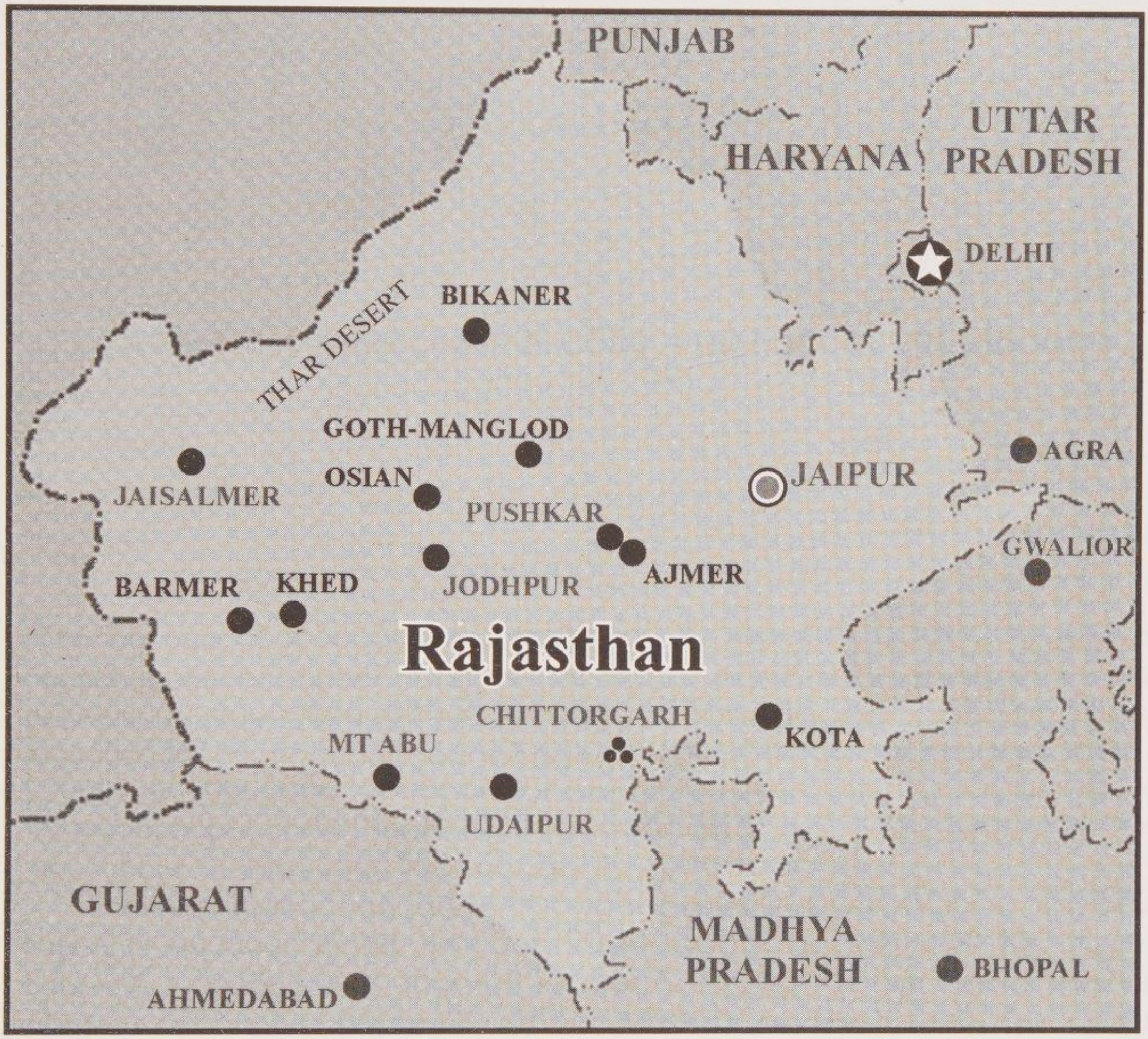
Plate 30. Osian, Mahāvīra temple, reconfigured courtyard, *jāt denā* ceremony in front of Bherū shrine. Dressed images of Sacciyā Mātā during Navrātrī and Mahāvīra during annual temple festival (photographs John E. Cort).

Plate 31. Osian, Jain school collection, photograph of a nineteenth-century *paṭṭāvalī* illustration showing Ratnaprabhasūri converting Sacciyā Mātā (left) and a cow locating the image of Mahāvīra (right) (photograph John E. Cort); *jāt denā* ceremony in front of renovated Bherū altar mounted on the west *bhadra*-balcony of the Mahāvīra temple.

Plate 32. Osian, Sacciyā Mātā complex: pilgrims ascending the hill on the eighth day of Navrātrī; *jāt denā* procession placing coconuts on each step and making offerings (photographs John E. Cort).

Plate 33. Osian, interviews and interactions: Meister and Babb on roof of the old Jain school; Babb interviewing Om Prakash Sharma (photographs John E. Cort); Cort and Vimal Sharma, in front of a memorial photograph of his father, Jugrāj, at the entry gate to Sacciyā Mātā hill.

Plate 34. Osian, Mahāvīra temple, *valānaka* entry hall, renovated and reinstalled eleventh-century ceiling. Goth-Manglod, Dadhimatī temple complex, *kapāl kuṇḍ* (photograph Lawrence A. Babb).



Map

Sites in Rajasthan

The disciplines we brought to our task were three. Michael W. Meister is an art historian whose career has been dedicated to the study and analysis of India's sacred monuments. He has researched these four temples intermittently for over four decades starting in 1964. John E. Cort and Lawrence A. Babb brought into play the insights and techniques, frequently overlapping, of religious studies and social anthropology respectively. At the time of our research, Cort had already done extensive field research on the Jains, especially in Gujarat, and Babb had studied Hindu ritual and religion in both rural and urban contexts, and more recently had done research on the Śvetāmbar Jains of Jaipur. At the same time, as we explain below, all three of us have been shaped by the interdisciplinary premises of area studies. In our individual research we each ask questions pertaining to South Asia as a historical and cultural area, and are committed to an approach that employs and intertwines insights from diverse conventional disciplines as they bear on and illuminate our inquiries.

Our question, "what is a temple?" is not just a matter of academic pedantry. It is also a sharply contested question in contemporary India. This became a serious issue in Jaipur in the late 1990s because of a recent law banning the worship of Satī Devī (associated with the self-sacrifice of widows) within a temple. Advocates of her worship said this meant in or in front of the sanctum. Opponents argued that her worship was banned anywhere in a temple complex. The most successful argument was, perhaps, that of practice: in practical terms, a temple begins where worshipers first feel the need to take off their shoes.

The Project

Our joint endeavor was many years in planning and execution. If one were to trace it back to a moment of inception, it probably was when Meister first began working on Osian in the 1960s and also read about the Dadhimatī temple in Nagaur district and its seventh-century inscription. A remarkable thing about this temple was that it appeared to have been in continuous use over thirteen centuries of its existence. This fact, extraordinary in the history of historical monuments in India, gave rise to a range of questions centering on what factors or forces underlie the lives of temples as institutions. Certainly religious impulses are critical, but just as important are the kinds of social constituencies a temple generates and the sorts of patronage by which it is supported. Temples such as the Dadhimatī temple that enjoy long spans of life can be seen as exceptionally useful laboratories for the investigation of these issues.

As best we can remember, we first began to discuss these issues as a threesome during preparation for a conference on Jainism organized by Cort and hosted by Amherst College in 1993. (This conference led to a volume of essays that addressed issues of social and religious identity in Jainism [Cort 1998a], in which an earlier version of Meister's chapter one first appeared.) Planning for a joint project began in the fall of 1994 as part of a thematic seminar on "Art, Ritual, and Patronage" sponsored by the Center for the Advanced Study of India (CASI) at the University of Pennsylvania. These discussions culminated in a decision to pursue a joint investigation of Dadhimatī and three other

temples that shared Dadhimatī's combination of deep antiquity and continuing contemporary use. These were the Mahāvīra and Sacciyā Mātā temples at Osian and the Raṇchoḍjī temple at Khed near Balotra. A successful application for a multi-year interpretive research grant from the J. Paul Getty Trust, undertaken in collaboration with CASI, set the project in motion.

Our work unfolded in stages. All three of us visited India for the purpose of laying the groundwork for our project and conducting preliminary interviews, including a joint visit to Jaipur, Jodhpur, and the four temples in December 1996 and January 1997. Our extended joint field research period was from January to May 1998. In India, our official affiliation was with the Institute for Rajasthan Studies, founded and directed by Professor Rajendra Joshi in Jaipur. We were headquartered in Jodhpur, which was a central location convenient for excursions to our four temples and also the venue of some of our most important interviews. In addition to our primary quartet of temples, we visited many others in the region that were relevant to our work, often repeating our visits. These included Gāṅgāṇī, Kāparṛā, Nākoṛā, Sālāsar Bālājī, Pādāmātā (near Didwana), and a number of temples in Jodhpur and Jaipur.

Interdisciplinary Research

A foundational concept of our project was the idea that no single academic discipline can adequately deal with something as complex as a large and functioning Hindu or Jain temple. This is not to say that we devalue the disciplines, for in fact the three of us are enthusiastic practitioners of our very different fields. At the same time, we recognize that the traditional disciplines have both strengths and weaknesses. Their main strengths lie in their narrowness of focus, which is conducive to analysis in depth in an uncluttered field of view. But this very strength is also the source of a notorious weakness, which is that traditional disciplines do not engage well with the study of complex social and cultural institutions, or at least they do not do so when they operate in isolation. The social and cultural world is not only very complex, but there is an entangled and seamless quality to its complexity that the traditional disciplines, owing to their tendency to focus narrowly, either miss or represent poorly.

It is hard to imagine a more dramatic illustration of this truth than the great and little temple pilgrimage centers of India. To return to the question with which we began—What is a temple?—we knew from the outset that functioning temples are many things at once. At one level, they are purely physical things. But even here, we must consider context. To borrow a concept that anthropologist Leslie A. White (1959) once made famous in relation to cultural things, a temple is part of a thermodynamic system. It is, that is to say, a crystallization of, as well as a continuing sink for, energies made available by agricultural surpluses and mobilized by a highly stratified society. Simply to construct and maintain in functioning order these extraordinary physical structures requires an extremely complex array of people acting in specialized occupational roles: architects, artisans, priests, potters, and many others. And this requires the support of a political system that possesses the authority to extract surpluses from both countryside and cities and the organizational

capacities to organize and coordinate the building and maintaining of temples. It also requires an economic order with the capacity to funnel those surpluses into temple construction and maintenance. Indeed, temples often play a vital role in constructing the authority of the rulers and communities that support them. The historians Burton Stein (1960, 1961) and George Spencer (1969; also Hall and Spencer 1980) have shown that precisely because temples worked efficiently to mobilize and develop economic resources, the construction of temples was an essential element in the ruling kings' expansion of control into less-developed hinterlands in medieval Tamilnadu.

But of course there is more. Functioning temples are confluence points for social relationships of virtually every sort. Deities are emblems of social groupings of all kinds—lineages, clans, castes, and even village or regional communities. By supporting particular deities, and by making them a part of their life-cycle rituals, groups enact their own sense of themselves as social entities, and also project their identities into public space. Temples are also idea systems rendered in stone; they are physical substrates, that is, upon which Indian civilization deposits layers upon layers of meanings. Temples reflect cosmological and soteriological ideas that are centuries old, that have complex histories, and that are embedded in regional and even subcontinental social and cultural webs. They are also things of beauty, and in this respect must be seen as expressions—and in the case of India, one of the most important expressions—of a civilization's aesthetic principles and values. The beauty of a temple serves to demonstrate the sophisticated "taste" of a patron who paid for it. It is also created to please the deity who resides there. And so, we must remember, in the eyes of pilgrims and other devotees, the temples we studied are also where a god (or gods, or simply God) lives.

Now it is the office of the traditional disciplines to disengage these various things from each other and examine them in depth. But to study a functioning temple, especially one with a long history and a large and varied clientele, one must put them or keep them together. We tried to keep this holistic ideal always in sight during the course of our investigations. We were not always as successful in transcending the limitations of the disciplines as we had hoped, and our chapters clearly indicate the extent to which we continue to be grounded in our separate disciplines. Moreover, bringing in the insights of still other disciplines—economics, political science, geography, or environmental studies—in a systematic fashion would have added to our analyses still more features that we inevitably overlooked. Still, it can be said that necessity required us to weave in and out of our disciplinary perspectives, and to this extent religious studies, social anthropology, and architectural history became the fields of all three of us. We hope that some of the excitement of this widening of outlook is preserved in the papers presented in this volume.

Method

Our methodology was a somewhat eclectic mixture of approaches reflecting the interdisciplinarity of our project. All three of us, however, participated in all phases of the work.

A major focus of our labor, and in some ways the foundation of everything else we did, was an archaeological and art-historical assessment of the temples. Under Meister's supervision, a team of young local architects created a preliminary set of survey drawings of the temples at Osian and Goth-Manglod. This was quite a substantial and time-consuming undertaking. The Sacciyā and Mahāvīra temples at Osian had never adequately been surveyed in this manner before, nor had nineteenth- and twentieth-century modifications of the Dadhimatī temple. After our return to the U.S., Meister scanned and digitized these preliminary drawings and produced others, expanding the analysis and reconstructions potential in our data. There now exists a portfolio of over twenty-five such drawings that have been exhibited in the Architectural Archive at the University of Pennsylvania. Much of this material is available for use by scholars through the image collection of the University of Pennsylvania library as well as in our published reports.

We also spent much of our time conducting interviews. Our interviewing was done both individually and as two- and three-person teams, and ultimately we talked to hundreds of people: pilgrims, priests, craftsmen, monks, trustees, genealogists, politicians, intellectuals, and ordinary men and women. Some of our interviews were target-of-opportunity encounters in the temples themselves or with members of the relevant communities met in other contexts. Much of our interviewing, however, was of a more formal character. We conducted lengthy formal discussions with priests, individuals prominent in temple and community affairs, and ordinary people at the temple sites and in Jodhpur, Jaipur, Nagaur, Salasar, Borunda, Bar, Balotra, Bikaner, Malpura, Mumbai, Ahmedabad, and Patan.

Above all, our investigation of the ritual life of these temples required on-the-spot observation of the sort that anthropologists call "participant observation." All three of us were deeply involved in this sort of work. We made several extended visits to the Dadhimatī, Sacciyā, and Mahāvīra temples, often in conjunction with important annual festivals to which hundreds and thousands of pilgrims came from surrounding villages, other Rajasthani cities, and as far away as Mumbai, Kolkata, and Chennai. We also made many shorter visits to these temples to observe day-to-day ritual activities. This aspect of our research obviously overlapped with our interviewing and reading, as it involved many conversations with pilgrims and priests, and the reading and translation of relevant pilgrim pamphlets, ritual manuals, and hymns.

In order to reconstruct the nineteenth- and twentieth-century histories of our temples, and also to understand their cultural and social contexts, we found it necessary to examine an extensive and extremely heterogeneous body of written materials. We read relevant writings in Hindi, Gujarati, Sanskrit, and English, almost none of which is available in the United States or Europe. We were extremely fortunate in being able to gain access to private and community libraries in Jodhpur, Jaipur, Bikaner, Osian, and Gangani. Some of these libraries had been closed for many years. We have had the further good fortune to be able to photocopy selected materials from each of these libraries, and in some cases to

obtain rare publications that we subsequently turned over to the Van Pelt Library at the University of Pennsylvania.

The on-site phase of our work ended in May of 1998. This was not, however, the end of our work together. After the fieldwork phase of our research, we have remained in communication about our project, and on three occasions made joint formal presentations of some of our materials. The first was at a workshop at the University of Pennsylvania organized by Meister that contributed to the production of a preliminary volume, *Ethnography and Personhood, Notes From the Field* (Meister 2000a). The three of us formed a panel at the American Council for Southern Asian Art (ACSAA) Symposium in Charleston, SC, in November of 1998. Finally, we organized a panel at the spring 2005 meeting of the Association for Asian Studies in Chicago entitled "Constructing Tradition: Ideal Communities and Temples in Modern Rajasthan." Some of the essays in this volume were written for these three settings. We have also included some essays emerging out of the joint research written by Cort and Meister for other occasions, including a volume to honor Rajendra Joshi, *Multiple Histories: Culture and Society in the Study of Rajasthan* (Babb, et al. 2002). Material we collected from this project has also contributed to the on-going individual scholarship of each one of us. This volume represents the fruit of our continuing collaboration for more than a decade.

The Temples

As noted already, our four temples share an impressive antiquity, but in other respects they are quite different. Of the four, two stand out as a natural dyad; they are physically close together and in both myth and reality they have deeply intertwined histories. These are the Mahāvīra and the Sacciyā Mātā temples located in the busy market town of Osian. The former is a Jain temple dedicated to Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth and final Jina of this era. The latter is dedicated to the goddess Sacciyā Mātā (also spelled Saccikā), who is worshiped by both Jains and Hindus. A highly significant feature of this location is that Osian is the putative place of origin of the Osvāl caste, and both temples play roles in a version of the Osvāl origin myth retold by temple priests and also in the writings of Jñānsundar, a Jain monk whose writings figure prominently in this book and who was a tireless promoter of Osian and the Osvāl caste. This myth, as will be seen later in this book, unites the two temples in a single narrative. The Mahāvīra temple was founded in the eighth century CE and appears to be the oldest extant Jain temple in western India. The Sacciyā Mātā temple, located on the summit of a nearby hill, possibly also dates from the eighth century, although the present central structure is a product of the twelfth century. Both have been reconfigured a number of times since then, and our visits have frequently been accompanied by the sound of stone carvers hard at work making still more additions and changes.

The Osvāl origin myth—as retold at Osian—asserts that Sacciyā was instrumental in the "awakening" of the inhabitants of ancient Osian to the truths of Jainism, which was how the Osvāl caste was created. Originally the ferocious and bloodthirsty Cāmuṇḍā, she

became vegetarianized into Sacciyā Mātā shortly after the townspeople became Jains. The same body of myth maintains that the Mahāvīra temple was built at that time, and credits the goddess with the creation of the image now enshrined in the Mahāvīra temple. Sacciyā occupies the role of clan goddess for many Osvāls today, though by no means all. As a practical matter, this means that those who venerate her as clan goddess have their childrens' tonsure rite performed at her temple and also perform a rite known as "giving *jāt*" (*jāt denā*) as a postlude to marriage.

Whatever its connection with the Jain Osvāls, the Mahāvīra temple is indisputably a Jain temple. The social and religious complexion of Sacciyā is a more complex issue. It would be easy to be misled by the prominence of the Osvāl origin myth in the affairs of the temples into a belief that Sacciyā is essentially an Osvāl goddess. As we learned, however, Sacciyā is a regional goddess with many caste constituencies, most of which are not Jain. Indeed, the Jains who are most prominent in the temple's affairs today are Terāpanthīs from Shekhawati, a region in the north of Rajasthan, who do not worship images in Jain temples and many of whom do not regard her as their clan goddess.

The handsome main image of Sacciyā in the temple (Plates 5 and 26) clearly relates her to the pan-Indian goddess Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardinī. Her head is slightly bowed and facing to her left (the viewer's right), as she looks down upon the demon Mahiṣāsura whom she is in the process of slaying. Her upper right hand holds a prominent sword, with which she is about to smite the demon. The rest of the image is usually covered by the extensive and expensive ornamentation of precious gems, silver coverings, colorful silks, and garlands of flowers which her many devotees lavish on her, and so the iconography is invisible to the sight of a worshiper. While one author (Rāṭhoḍ 1948:97) has written that the image depicts her riding on her lion—the standard iconography of Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardinī—he appears to be mistaken. Only the upper half of what we assume was the original, complete image is visible. The extant Sacciyā image is an incomplete one,, and in this it bears a striking similarity to the aniconic image of the goddess Dadhimatī, which is also understood to be incomplete.

The story of why the image of Sacciyā is "incomplete" does not play as significant a role in the mythic history of the temple as does the story, related by Babb in chapters two and nine, of why the image of Dadhimatī is "incomplete." Whereas the latter is recounted in several written sources, the former we heard only when we asked a temple official about the apparent incompleteness of the image. He replied that as a matter of tradition, established by the goddess herself, only the *pujārī*s of the temple can see her entire image. The image is affixed to the very rock of the mountain with cement, underscoring the way that, as with Dadhimatī, the goddess, her image, and the very rock of the place are all inextricably one. Our informant then gave two accounts, seemingly contradictory, to explain the incompleteness.

On the one hand, he simply said that it would be inappropriate for anyone other than a *pujārī* to see the lower half of the image, which depicts the nudity of the goddess. The

presence of many other complete images of "naked" goddesses in the temple undermines the credibility of this explanation (see chapter five).

His second explanation is so similar to the Dadhimatī account that we obviously are dealing with a mythic theme that is widespread in the region (and probably South Asia). He said that only half of the image had emerged from the mountain (but did not explain why, therefore, the *pujārī*s can see all of the image). A small boy was tending his cows on the mountain when the image started to emerge. He was told by an invisible voice that if he said anything, the image would not emerge. Nonetheless, he uttered a fearful cry in response to the loud roaring of the mountain breaking apart, and so the image stopped emerging when it was only halfway out of the mountain.

The Dadhimatī temple is situated approximately thirty-eight kilometers to the east of Nagaur between the villages of Goth and Manglod. It appears to have originated as a shrine of some kind built in the seventh century, although the present structure dates from the ninth century. It houses an aniconic image, a featureless stone normally covered by a face-like mask of the goddess Dadhimatī. She is a Hindu goddess, with no connections whatsoever with Jainism. The affairs of this temple are almost totally dominated by a regionally important Brahman caste known as the Dādhīc or Dāhimā Brahmans. (Depending on context, both designations are used in this volume.) Just as Sacciyā is mythically connected with the origin of the Osvāl caste, Dadhimatī is the origin goddess of the Dādhīc Brahmans, and all Dādhīc Brahmans regard her as their clan goddess. In effect, she is a caste goddess for the Dādhīc Brahmans. The fact that Dadhimatī is so closely connected with these Brahmans singles this temple out from our other three temples, because the others have close contemporary links with trading castes. As we learned, however, she is not exclusively a goddess for Brahmans.

The story of recent changes affecting the Dadhimatī temple can be seen as exemplary of changes in the caste system in modern times. An inscription found at the temple and dating from 608 CE shows that the shrine was then patronized by a Brahman community named Dadhya. (Unfortunately, the present location of this inscription is unknown, although a copy was made that remains in the temple.) Contemporary Dādhīc Brahmans believe this community to have been ancestral to theirs, a claim that has played an important role in supporting their case for proprietary rights in the temple. These Dādhīc Brahmans were once concentrated in Dadhimatī's hinterland, but, in accordance with a common pattern, they have mostly migrated out of the area, both to the cities of Rajasthan and well beyond, a process that appears to have begun in the late nineteenth century. They nevertheless continue to return to the temple to perform the rituals normally associated with clan goddesses. But more than that, their relationship with Dadhimatī figures centrally in the efforts of Dādhīc Brahman elites to reconfigure their caste's identity, as this volume's final chapter will show.

Our fourth temple, the Raṇchoḍjī temple at Khed, a Vaiṣṇava temple initially constructed in the ninth century, was the outlier of our sample of four. Its main image is a form of four-armed Viṣṇu known as Raṇchoḍjī or Raṇchoḍrāy. While the derivation and

even precise meaning of "Raṇchoḍ" is a matter of scholarly speculation—it literally means "the one who fled (*choḍ*) the battlefield (*raṇ*)," but may instead be taken to mean "the one who takes away (*choḍ*) faults or wrong-doings (*ṛṇa*)"—images of Viṣṇu as Raṇchoḍ are fairly common in western India. They represent a historical level of Viṣṇu worship in Rajasthan and Gujarat that predates the large-scale penetration of the region by devotional Kṛṣṇa worship (*bhakti*) in the past five hundred years (Mallison 1983).

Our initial interest was primarily in the Osian and Dadhimatī temples. As we developed our proposal, we added the Khed temple as an equally old structure that; to the best of our initial and scant knowledge, had been patronized largely by neither Jains nor Brahmans, but possibly founded by kings. As our research progressed, however, we were unable to give it the same attention or develop the same level of detailed understanding as with the other three. Although it has undergone extensive renovations in the twentieth century, it appears to have, as Meister puts it, "a somewhat constricted contemporary life." It is, nonetheless, of considerable archaeological and historical interest. A local Agravāl community centered in the nearby town of Balotra has dominated its affairs late in the twentieth century. The Agravāls, like the Osvāls, are a merchant caste, but although there are Agravāl Jains, the caste is numerically dominated by Hindus.

Our limited study of the Raṇchoḍjī temple and its present social setting did highlight both important continuities and discontinuities with the other three, and we are confident that our research would have been enhanced had we had more time and resources to devote to it. In a similar vein, many other temples in Rajasthan could have greatly enriched our research. We make no claims for our research either as conclusive or comprehensive, or that these are the only interesting temples in Rajasthan to study. The reader will find our language often tentative and speculative, even after studying these temples and their social contexts for many years. But the very unboundedness of our enterprise—the ways our research at times seemed to take us far away from the physical structures that generated the project, and the realization that every insight opened up yet more avenues of exploration—is, we feel, one of the most important strengths and "findings" of this project.

Temples in Time

The physical fabrics of these ancient temples have been analyzed and described in the *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture* (Meister and Dhaky 1991) and phases of their construction discussed in other scholarship (Dhaky 1968; Handa 1984; Meister 1989). Often, however, these descriptions stop at a point deemed an appropriate historical horizon—when the structure is perceived to have been "completed"—rather than a "horizon of expectation" as predicated by reception theory (Iser 1978; Meister 1995b). The social sources and consequences of changes—the "reception" of the monuments, their lives—have not been explored.

In the eighth century, temples not supported by direct royal patronage remained human in scale, small by the standards of later monuments and built for use by particular sects and for individuals to approach the deity directly. With the passage of time,

increasing wealth of patrons and changing public functions of the temple led to enlarged temple establishments. Temple rituals shifted from esoteric practices, privately performed by Brahman sects for the benefit of kings and other wealthy patrons who were not present, to public forms of community and family worship (Inden 2000; Davis 1991). These included increasingly popular *bhakti* practices, pilgrimage, and public festivals, which still were able to validate royal sponsors. Craft guilds perfected the technologies of stone construction, halls were added, and shrines were incorporated into larger compounds and social institutions (Meister 1985; 1991a). This enlargement of compounds and temple complexes occurred during the medieval period when kings and communities overlapped in their uses of temples. The trend continued in the modern period, but with different sets of agendas.

The pattern of multiple agendas and multiple communities of use is strongly exemplified by our materials. Establishing the Mahāvīr Jain Vidyālay, the boarding school attached to the Mahāvīra temple, early in the twentieth century was intended to restore an Osvāl population in Osian. Its compound physically doubled the space occupied by the temple as an institution. Four courtyards added around the Dadhimatī temple at Goth-Manglod in the middle of the nineteenth century also enlarged and redefined that temple, while providing a place for pilgrims to stay. In the twentieth century, the Dadhimatī temple has been further enlarged and has had decades of lawsuits first establishing and then gradually shifting control away from a local Dādhīc Brahman community toward a broader *bhakti* agenda. In the mid-twentieth century, priests of the Sacciyā temple at Osian began to plan to build shrines to Nine Durgās in order to increase patronage and support. More recent pilgrims' patronage, based largely on different agendas, has added large Osvāl and Māheśvarī *dharmśālās* (pilgrim rest houses). Changing laws that make donations to temples run by Public Trusts tax deductible have also altered the way these institutions run themselves.

Some of these ancient and modern agendas we have been able to parse, some we have not. However, the patterns of change and use we find in our four examples—varied even for desert temples in Rajasthan—help frame questions elsewhere. Problems of where do the barbers sit or who drinks alcohol and where may seem particular to our local context, yet the survival of temples has depended in part on the engagement of communities of users with such issues. Government regulations have changed the way worshipers, patrons, and temples interact in an independent and modernizing India, as we discuss in chapters three and seven, but not yet in ways that reject the past. From such events as Jñānsundar's labors in the twentieth century, the establishment of the All-India Dāhimā Mahāsabhā, and the hasty scramble to set up public temple trusts in the 1970s, living temples emerge.

Organization of the Book

Our work together resulted in a common pool of data from which each of us has drawn in the course of pursuing writing projects of his own. We hope that all of the papers included in this book demonstrate something of the interdisciplinary sensibility that we fostered

during our fieldwork together. They are, however, separately authored, and to this extent they reflect our specific individual interests, opportunities, and proclivities. We have done some re-editing of the papers, but the editorial hand has been light in order to preserve their integrity as stand-alone essays. We have tried to attain a degree of stylistic uniformity, but we have not attempted to project a single authorial voice. The circumstances of the origin of the chapters as independent essays have presented problems for the organization of this book. How should we organize papers written for highly diverse venues into chapters of a single but multi-authored volume? We have tried to group them into sections in a way that makes sequential sense, but there is a considerable amount of overlap and even repetition among the chapters.

The papers we have brought together are nine in number and we have grouped them into four sections. These sections reflect what seem to us to be the major categories into which our work naturally fell.

Part One: Histories

We start the book with two chapters that investigate how the Osvāls and the Dādhīc Brahmans themselves have thought about these temples. Both castes have had long-standing, intimate relationships with the physical structures and the sites where they are located, because they also have close—and in the case of the Dādhīc Brahmans, genealogical—relationships with the deities who reside there. These two chapters show that temples and their deities play key roles in the ways that people think about themselves as social units. Whatever else the temples may be, for Osvāls and Dādhīc Brahmans they have been the locus of intense and sustained thinking about who they are as caste communities, a matter to be explored in detail in the final chapters of this volume. Questions of identity are always also questions of history: part of the answer to the question "Who are we?" is found in the answer to the question "Where do we come from?" Part of what makes a temple live and allows it to survive for as many centuries as these have, is that the temple is embedded in a community's self-understanding as expressed in historical or mythohistorical ideas. People narrate their own history, and because a temple is central to that history, they travel to, worship at, and maintain that temple. These histories, told over and over, with many variants, became central to our research.

An earlier version of Meister's "Sweetmeats or Corpses?" served in part as a position paper that outlined some of the basic questions we wanted to investigate. The version here was revised and strengthened in light of the subsequent joint research. His focus is the special relationship, from the Osvāl point of view, between the Mahāvīra and Sacciyā temples and the Osvāl's own history and destiny as a caste community. There are, as the chapter shows, two "histories" of the temple complex. One is the sort of history researched and written by modern historians and art-historians. This is history as concerned with the on-the-ground facts that explain who, what, where, when, and why. The other is the sort of mythohistory or narrative that serves as a charter for, among other things, the identity and often the internal structure of social groups. Meister brings these two narratives into

contact, drawing the mythic version from the *Upakeśa Gaccha Paṭṭāvalī*, and although the two narratives are certainly in tension, they also mesh in interesting ways.

The crux of the Osvāl origin myth is the monk Ratnaprabhasūri's conversion of the townspeople of Osian from the worship of bloodthirsty Cāmuṇḍā into non-violent Jains. Sacciyā Mātā is a local goddess, associated with the Great Goddess Durgā in this myth. Cāmuṇḍā, an early fierce form of the Goddess, however, is not the principal form by which Sacciyā is known at Osian (Meister 1986b). Within the frame of this story, Meister focuses on the subsequent conversion of Cāmuṇḍā (in the form of Durgā slaying the buffalo demon Mahiṣa) into a vegetarian goddess suitable as an object of worship for Jains. Transmogrified, she becomes Sacciyā Mātā, who is patrilineage goddess for some Osvāl clans and also serves somewhat diffusely as a symbol of Osvāl caste identity.

In "Time and Temples," Babb relates the theme of social identity to the way origin mythology manipulates time. If modern scholars, and indeed modern people, measure time in isometric units, the narratives that serve as charter myths for social groups construct a very different picture of historical duration. Time as measured in isometric units is "metrical time." The timescape of origin myths, however, is what Evans-Pritchard (1940) famously called "social time," which is time as a reflex of social proximity and distance—of "social space," that is—as expressed in myths about how groups and relationships between groups once came into being. The Dadhimatī, Mahāvīra, and Sacciyā temples are, as we see in this essay, situated in social time as well as the metrical time of the modern historian.

Babb first examines the officially sanctioned origin myth of the Dādhīc (or Dāhimā) Brahmans; this he compares with the Śvetāmbar mendicant Jñānsundar's story of the origin of the Osvāl caste. The Dādhīc origin myth establishes three levels of Dādhīc identity—as generic Brahmans, as Dādhīc Brahmans, and as members of specific patriclans—each with its own social timescape. Somewhat more complex is the Osvāl case, in which the disciplic descent of mendicant lineages intersects with the physical descent of worldly lineages, a pattern that may be characteristic of social identity of Jain groups generally. The Osvāl myth, moreover, exists in a tension with the timescape of modern historians, a difficulty we do not see in the Dādhīc case.

Part Two: Structures

We move in the second section from the narratives people have told about the temples to a focus on the temples as designed, ornamented, and geographically situated physical structures. Meister's "Building a Temple" provides a detailed survey of the four temples from archaeological, architectural, and art-historical points of view. In the process, he gives a sense, consistent with the limitations of our data, of how these temples have changed in time. Our knowledge of the evolution of the temples as physical structures is reasonably good, but of course our grasp of their changing social and political contexts is limited to what archaeology and limited epigraphy can provide. From our standpoint, a recoverable

history of our temples emerges into the full light of day only in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In this chapter Meister also introduces a theme that was of great importance to our project and one that informs much of the material presented later on in this book. This is the necessity of patronage, of whatever sort, to what Meister calls (in specific reference to the Osian temples) a "pattern of replacement, reformulation, and rededication." The analysis of such social and political support is key to understanding how temples that succeeded in staying alive over centuries survived the natural processes of decay and the vicissitudes of history. He also introduces evidence from legal history that helps explain significant differences between behavior of communities who established temple trusts early in the twentieth century and the functioning of Public Temple Trusts today.

In "Water in a Desert Landscape," Meister shifts the spotlight to the natural environment, with specific reference to Osian's past. There are several ancient temples at Osian as well as a spectacular step well. Of these temples, the Mahāvīra and Sacciyā Mātā temples are of greatest historical and contemporary importance; the other structures, however, are evidence of the great significance of Osian as a religious center in ancient times, for it must have been a major population center and source of patronage in those days. The paper highlights the importance of water to understanding why Osian flourished as it did. Water in adequate supply made possible the physical existence of the populations that built and maintained these temples, to say nothing of supplying the needs of the thirsty crowds of pilgrims that must have been a part of the picture from the time the temples were built. The story of the decline early in the twelfth century of another city in Marwar, Bhinmal (Shrimal)—whose ancient history is tied to that of Osian in many ways—is that the majority of its inhabitants had to leave after a long drought (Cort 2000a:109-10). Although the history of the Osvāls is certainly one of total emigration from Osian, as far as we know the town of Osian itself faced a fate similar to that of Bhinmal only early in the twentieth century, before the building of the Rajasthan canal.

One day we had a conversation with one of our principal informants—Om Prakash, an employee of the Sacciyā temple whose family had been *pujārī*s there for generations—about the ways that the economy of the region had been transformed by the arrival in Osian of water in significant quantities due to the Indira Gandhi canal. We remarked that there must have been some similar source of water in ancient times, when Osian was described as a great capital city, as evidenced by the many ruins and still extant ancient temples that dot the landscape. He took us into the hills several kilometers outside of town, and showed us the faint outlines of what was once a significant water storage system built to capture and retain rainwater needed to support the town. This centered on the wells described by Meister, drawing on a scant available water table (annual rainfall is less than five inches a year) and thus enabling such a sacred complex to flourish in the desert.

But water is more than a mere fluid; it also possesses great symbolic significance in South Asian cultures. Following Coomaraswamy, Meister notes that water is a key symbol in South Asian cosmologies and that one can see this visually reflected in prints of Osian's

origin story found in books and in paintings we saw mounted on the walls of many Jain institutions in Rajasthan. These almost inevitably depicted Ratnaprabhasūri seated in a verdant landscape filled with waterfalls and rivers. Osian is an apt example of the ability of water, however hidden, to "empower" the sacred, especially in the desert.

The next chapter, Meister's "Light on the Lotus," directs attention to the Dadhimatī temple. In this chapter he discusses both patronage and the manner in which the temple relates to the social identity of the Dādhīc Brahman caste. He also provides a sketch of the ninth-century temple and the development of its compounds in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in historical and art-historical terms. A particularly interesting point documented in this essay has to do with a neighboring ninth-century temple located near Didwana that, though again in use today as a goddess temple, has not been a continual worship or pilgrimage center comparable to that of Osian or the Dadhimatī temple. Part of the ornamentation of this recently resurrected shrine depicts a goddess in the form of Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardinī emerging from the ground in the presence of herdsmen and their cattle. According to contemporary local myth, the aniconic stone representing Dadhimatī emerged—as noted earlier—from the earth in the presence of a frightened herdsman and his cows, and a similar story is told of Sacciyā Mātā. This image and stories of Dadhimatī and Sacciyā suggest the existence of a myth-motif that is both ancient and deeply embedded in contemporary regional culture.

Part Three: Pilgrims and Patrons

If there is a selection process by which some temples succeed and others fail at the test of staying alive over centuries, continuity and/or discontinuity in their relationships with the individuals and communities that provide their support is its primary basis. A key variable is, of course, the nature of this support, which was a major focus of our work. Cort's "Pilgrimage and Identity in Rajasthan" introduces these issues in the context of a study of Osian as a pilgrimage center. A pilgrimage center is, as Cort points out, "a sacred complex, an elaborate network of shrines and subshrines," with a physical layout that interacts with religious symbols and practices in complex and fluid ways. Multiple deities mean multiple things to multiple constituencies, some very local and some far-flung.

Cort distinguishes three ways in which the significance of deities (often the same deities) is understood by worshipers. Some deities are what he calls "family lineage deities"; these are deities, usually goddesses, specific to lineages and sometimes castes, and are closely connected with the theme of social identity to be explored later in this volume. Second, "place deities" have to do with geographic as opposed to the social hinterlands, although these principles usually overlap in practice. Third and finally, "adored deities" refers to deities worshiped as objects of devotion in the context of *bhakti* ideology; this, too, is clearly a category that can overlap with the other two. All of these patterns are manifested at Osian, as they are at all major pilgrimage centers.

The multiplicity of relationships between deities and their human constituencies provides a convenient bridge into another area of intense focus of our research, which is

patronage and proprietary rights. A temple cannot live without support, and, if it has support, a temple is likely to live. Indeed, the Mahāvīra temple of Osian might be said to have been revived from near death because of miraculously restored patronage. But the extent to which it has support is in a feedback loop with an array of relationships that communities and individuals have with deities and the temples that enshrine them.

In "Patronage, Authority, Proprietary Rights, and History," Cort makes the point that although a one-time visitor might conclude that a temple is a "fixed entity," historical and sociological perspectives show that temples are fluid entities at every level. This is even true of temples as physical objects, which—in the case of temples that have lasting ritual lives—are typically subject to repeated renovations during the passage of deep-historical time. And these changes, in turn, point to the crucial importance of the kinds of people and groups that have interests in the temple, whoever or whatever they may be. Over the course of time, these interests clash and claims of authority over temples are challenged. In the body of this paper, Cort anatomizes the sources of legitimacy in terms of which groups claim proprietary rights in temples. These include the claims of priests, of locally dominant castes, of *jajmānī* patronage, of special connections (such as descent) to the deity, and the influence of charismatic renouncers in establishing or reviving a group's special interest in a temple.

Cort's "Patronage" essay provides a transition to an issue that became the leitmotif of the sociological dimension of our work. With the possible exception of the Raṇchoḍjī temple (about which our information is insufficient), each of our temples in one way or another remains connected with the social identity of multiple groups, and this defines a major focus of our inquiries. One of the most significant of our discoveries, if that is the right word, was the realization of how layered this phenomenon actually is. Perhaps overly influenced by the claims of groups currently dominant in the affairs of the Sacciyā and Dadhimatī temples—claims articulately and forcefully promoted in the literature produced by these groups—we began with the tendency to see these temples and the deities they contain as intertwined largely with the social identities and internal affairs of single groups: the Osvāls in the case of Osian, the Dādhīc Brahmans in the case of Dadhimatī. As it turned out, this was much too simple a view, as Cort's "Patronage" essay shows.

All of our temples have multiple constituencies, even the Mahāvīra temple if one distinguishes properly between different Jain constituencies, and timelines of changing patronage. In this sense, temples can be seen as confluences of social relationships. They are arenas in which groups, especially caste groups, come into close juxtaposition, and the ritual life of temples often has the theatrical function of displaying intercaste relationships in a particularly dramatic way. Indeed, a temple can even be said to sanctify the intercaste and intergroup relationships that converge so densely on its premises.

But even if this is so, some groups take temples and the deities therein as having a special relationship with their own histories, internal composition, and social identity; they see them as *their* deities and expressive of their own unique identity. Indeed, this can bring

the group making such claims into conflict with others who have interests, ritual or material, in the temple in question.

Cort's discussion shows just how many different human actors enter into the life of any one temple. In significant part this is because temples are important economic institutions, and so control over the temple gives one access to pilgrim income, the movable and immovable wealth of the temple, and any land that is in its endowment. In the context of our research, Babb and Cort spent several days in the small town of Borunda, known to have had a significant population of Dādhīc Brahmans at one point. Here they also visited the local Jain temple. No image-worshiping (Mūrtipūjak) Jains have lived in Borunda for many generations, but the local congregation of Sthānakavāsī Jains—a sect that rejects the ritual culture of images and temples—carefully maintained the temple and paid for a *pujārī* to conduct daily rituals in it. One of the trustees of the temple, when we asked why he supported an institution that in theory he should have theologically rejected, answered quite simply that the congregation had to maintain the temple in order to retain control over the land that belonged to the temple (and probably its modern Public Trust).

But temples are equally important as social and cultural institutions. A list of the different categories of people who might have a vested interest in any given temple makes this clear. There are the pilgrims from afar and the local worshipers. There are priests—and in some places in India, this means also both the state-run schools that train the priests and the local union to which the priests belong. Since temples in contemporary India are registered legal entities, there are elected and appointed trustees, some of whom reside locally, and some of whom reside in distant cities. In part, the category of trustee can also overlap with that of patron and donor. These patrons and donors, of course, include not only those who are alive and active in the life of the temple today, but those who were responsible for the life of the temple in previous decades and centuries. Some temple trusts include appointed government officials, so the life of a temple intersects with various governmental agencies at the local, regional, state, and national level—and in the case of those few living monuments that have been recognized by UNESCO as part of the world heritage of all humanity, even international agencies. None of the temples we studied has yet generated a duplicate outside of India, nor the sorts of transnational networks now attached to some of the wealthiest temples of India. But a Jain firm in England uses a photograph of the Mahāvīra image in Osian in the advertisements it regularly places in global Jain periodicals. We will not be surprised when, in a few years, one or more of these temples hosts its own homepage on the internet. As mid-2007 only the Dadhimatī temple has a limited, non-interactive web site, as part of the home page of the Dādhīc Brahmans (www.dadhich.com/dadhimati_temple.htm).

Temples are built structures, and so there are past and contemporary architects, stone masons, and sculptors who have left their imprint upon them. Temples are religious institutions, so inevitably there are religious leaders involved, some of whom gain their interests through inherited or appointed positions, others through charisma and personal devotion. Many sites with temples are the goals of pilgrims, both from within India and

from abroad. Sand dunes opposite Osian are now the location of an expensive desert tourist camp, where people from Europe and America can live in tents, eat exotic desert cuisine, ride a camel, sip cocktails, and possibly visit the temples. Several years after we completed our joint fieldwork, when Cort was in Jaipur on a different research project, he was asked by the director of an American museum who knew of this project to spend several days in Osian explaining the temples to a special tour of art aficionados. This should remind us that among those we need to include in our portrait of people involved even at the local level are global scholars. Meister has been studying the temples at Osian intermittently for nearly four decades, and several informants readily referred to his earlier visits or published scholarship. The *Encyclopaedia of Temple Architecture* (or some "foreign scholar's opinion") is often cited to give credence to local claims of a temple's antiquity and current stature. Meister was asked by a future-thinking District Collector to attend a community meeting he had called with local Māheśvarī and other residents of Osian to discuss the need for an archaeological park.

Finally, as the pilgrims and devotees again would remind us, there are the deities themselves. As scholars we cannot study deities directly; we can study them only through the human actions and responses to their presence. But they are who "really matter" for most people who come to the temples or festivals that surround them. To borrow a phrase from Richard Davis (2000), it is important when researching a religious institution to remember to try to "write as if icons are really alive."

Part Four: Social Identities

The final section of the book indicates some of the ways that our research, taking the built structures of the temples as our physical and spatial starting point, spiraled out into a wide array of other questions. Many of these were not questions that a narrowly defined art-historical project would necessarily have investigated, but they became germane and even central given our multidisciplinary approach. The two chapters in this section look at how the construction—taking "construction" to mean an intellectual and social project as much as a material one—and maintenance of temples are tied to the construction and maintenance of social groups. We look at two groups in particular, one voluntary and the other ascriptive: a Jain mendicant lineage, and a Brahman caste. We could have conducted similar studies of other groups—the caste of Śākadvīpī Brahmans, also known as Bhojaks, who serve as priests at the Mahāvīra and Sacciyā Mātā temples is an obvious choice. But these two chapters suffice to demonstrate how our multidisciplinary methodology allowed us to see these temples as nodes within rich and complex webs of social and historical signification.

Cort's "Constructing a Jain Mendicant Lineage" greatly deepens the Osian story. The paper traces the early twentieth-century career of Jñānsundar, a sternly ascetic and unbending Jain monk. He was a tireless promoter of the Osvāl caste from which he came, of Osian as an Osvāl pilgrimage center, and of a once-important but now mostly defunct mendicant lineage known as the Upkeś Gacch that he attempted to reconstruct. Cort gives

us a thorough sense of the character and outlook of this extraordinary individual. A large part of this story has to do with the politics of Śvetāmbar Jain mendicant traditions and lineages. Jñānsundar attempted to create a unified vision of social identity. At the foundation of this concept was his insistence that an Upkeś Gacch *ācārya* was responsible for creation of the Osvāl caste, a version of Osvāl origin promoted at Osian and retold in Babb's "Time and Temples" but at variance with other versions. At the core of this origin story are the two temples, Mahāvīra and Sacciyā, and Cort shows how—in Jñānsundar's construction—Osvāl identity comes as part of a package that includes the Upkeś Gacch and its lay ritual culture, the temples at Osian, and the "true" version of the caste's history seen in the context of the "true" version of Jainism's history. The result was a vision in which the mendicant community, the lay community, and the Osvāl caste become a single unified whole, with Osian and its temples as the physical and spiritual anchor points of this grand conception. This was a vision, however, that fit poorly with on-the-ground realities, whether early in the twentieth century or at other times in Jain history.

The volume's final chapter, Babb's "Cleaving to the Goddess," examines the Dadhimatī temple in the context of historical changes of great importance in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This was a period in which caste elites all over India were, in response especially to changes related to urbanization and the emergence of new economic opportunities, revising their sense of themselves as caste communities and their notions of the nature of caste as a social institution. This trend was certainly apparent among the Dādhīc Brahmans. When they migrated away from Dadhimatī's rural hinterland, they found themselves in need of burnished Brahmanical credentials and, in the face of their increasing geographical dispersal as a caste, a symbolic focus for caste unity. The paper traces the ways in which Dādhīc elites polished their Brahmanical pedigree by manipulating their caste genealogy. It also describes how they reshaped their caste's origin myth in such a way as to support their claim that Dadhimatī has a unique relationship with the Dādhīc Brahmans as a caste community. Such a claim has little basis in regional tradition—for she was always the goddess of many communities—with the result that the Dādhīc Brahmans came into conflict with others over control of her temple, a contest that non-local Dādhīc Brahmans have won for now but has yet to play out fully.

Lessons Learned

So what is the moral of our story? We suggest that it is best expressed by two words: discontinuity and multiplicity.

As for discontinuity, we began our work with the idea of exploring what we called, in our original proposal, "continuities of community patronage," but as we gained knowledge our confidence in this idea weakened. The continued existence of the temples implies some degree of continuities of patronage, but our data did not indicate similar corresponding continuities of patrons. As Cort shows in his "Patronage" chapter, the Mahāvīra temple was apparently abandoned (or nearly so) in late medieval times only to be reclaimed from the desert sands and renovated in the nineteenth century. Some Dādhīc

Brahman accounts make it also seem likely that the Dadhimatī temple was in a state of near desuetude in the early nineteenth century. And as Cort also shows in the same chapter, if the Sacciyā temple is largely patronized by wealthy Osvāls today, and if its Temple Trust was set up consciously to represent all communities, it was being run by Bhojak priests until recently and supported by the patronage of local Rājpūts and Māheśvarīs. There is also a discontinuity between the intentions of those who set up the Temple Trust in the 1970s and the growing recent history of Terāpanthī pilgrimage and patronage. That is, there are even multiple discontinuities in the histories of the past thirty years, as Meister has pointed out. On the basis of these and related points, Cort concludes that far from exhibiting continuities of patronage, the temples in our study demonstrate histories of discontinuities and "contestations of patronage, worship, and control" involving "differing understandings of the relationships between the deity and castes, between worshipers and worshiped, and between donor and donated."

Cort's "Constructing a Jain Mendicant Lineage" can stand as a cautionary tale about discontinuity and continuity in the world of our temples. In a manner reminiscent of the fantasies of some functionalist social theorists, Jñānsundar believed that a perfectly seamless social order is possible—a social order in which ritual, social structure, and culture more generally, form an internally interconnected and mutually reinforcing plenum. This vision ran aground on the reality of social life as it actually exists in Rajasthani Jain communities and indeed in all communities. Reality presents a picture of difference, disagreement, and struggle. Manyness, not oneness, is the essence of social life, and to the extent that the life of temples is an extension of social life, it is bound to reflect this fact.

More than a structure of stone, a temple is a place where relationships join and touch—a multiplicity of relationships, heterogeneous in the extreme. To extend Babb's notion of social space and time somewhat, there is a sense in which social space and social time curve in the gravitational field of temples, bringing relationships of all kinds into a converging pattern and pulling the past into alignment with the social and cultural exigencies of the present. The participants in these relationships include objects (temples, shrines, images, ritual implements, etc.), places (defined geographically, historically, mythologically, etc.), persons (worshipers, priests, scholars, politicians, even tourists), and groups (communities of many sorts). We must also count the patrons of the present and the past, and the architects and artisans who created and modified these structures. And there are so many others: community leaders, agents of the state, and even (in recent times) law-makers, politicians, and foundation bureaucrats. But above all, we must include the individuals and groups who have ritual and spiritual relationships with the temples and the deities or forces they enshrine.

What then is a temple? It is, as we knew from the outset but have come to appreciate more deeply than before, a multiplicity of things, and it is all of those things at once. A successful temple—a great temple that functions and lives—is the sum of its relationships with its contexts. To the extent that the chapters of this book with their multiple authors reflect a sense of this reality, they will have succeeded in conveying the main lesson that emerged from our joint research.

Part I

Histories

1

Sweetmeats or Corpses?
Community, Conversion, and Sacred Places

MICHAEL W. MEISTER

This chapter is about the multi-layered life of things. It is—in part intentionally—neither linear nor consecutive. In it I attempt to combine narrative evidence from one text, standing monuments, available inscriptions, and ethnographic observations made by many passers-by over time. If these speak with multiple voices, it is their multiplicity that I wish to record. If they overlap in significant ways, I wish that significance to rise only slowly to the surface.

If there have been indeed "open boundaries" for Jains (Cort 1998a)—interstices in the categories of traditional India—there also are boundaries open for history as a whole. The very origin of many lay Jain communities, through "conversion" by a mendicant Jain teacher at some time in the past, is one such interstice. Evidence may always resist a single narrative. The many valid perceptions of history require that multiple, conflicting narratives not be reconciled, but explored.

The site I will explore in this chapter is one temple-place—the town of Osian in the Rajasthan desert—that is of particular importance to Jainism in Western India. I will look not only at what survives at the site, but at the history of the site's use, re-use, and re-formation over time. In exploring the continuing role of the monuments at Osian, I have drawn on three bodies of evidence: first, the archaeological record, of both monuments and inscriptions (Bhandarkar 1907:36–37; Bhandarkar 1912; Nahar 1918; Dhaky 1968; Meister 1991c–e); second, a seventeenth-century text called the *Paṭṭāvalī of the Upakeśa Gaccha* or the "List of Pontiffs" of Osian's (ancient Upakeśa's) lineage (Hoernle 1890);

and third, a body of minor ethnographic observations recorded by visitors to Osian in this century. In doing so, I hope in part to provide an object rooted case-study for testing the definitions of "ritual culture" provided by L. A. Babb (1996, 1998b).[1]

Archaeological Remains

D. R. Bhandarkar (1907) was the first archaeologist to report on the monuments at Osian. He was informed, as he approached the site over the desert (Bhandarkar 1912:101), that "there were only two temples at Ōsiā that would be archaeologically interesting, *viz.* the temple of Mahāvīr and the temple of Sachiyā Mātā, which have been referred to in both the Hindu and Jaina accounts." He went on, however, and found, instead, a site rich in archaeological artifacts: "On my visit I found that the place was studded with the ruins of many old fanes" (Plates 10–12).[2]

His first information was correct in terms of then current ritual practice and patronage. Today at Osian there are still only three ancient temples in active worship, both of those mentioned by villagers in 1904–05 and a third, a recently renovated small Śiva shrine (Meister 1991c:189–91). Two other of the archaeologically protected shrines, Viṣṇu no. 1, called Kesariyā Kaṅvar by recent worshipers, and Pīpalā Devī, have been coopted in recent years for occasional ritual use by specific communities (Plate 29). The villagers (as well as the Archaeological Department's watchmen) still use the other archaeological remains for storage, denying that they are temples (*mandir*s).[3] Instead they call them *bhūta-gṛha*s (houses for ghost-spirits) (Meister 1989).

The Mahāvīra temple at Osian of circa the late eighth century CE, in fact, is the oldest Jain temple surviving in Western India today (Dhaky 1968:312–27; Meister 1991c:182–89). This now serves as an important temple for many among the broad dispersed merchant community of Osvāl Jains, some of whom send their male children to the attached Jain school (Vaśiṣṭh 1988). This temple does not serve, however, as "origin" temple for the Osvāl Jains (that is, as the shrine of their *kul devī*, or lineage goddess). That role today is reserved, for a small number of Jain *gotra*s, for the larger pilgrimage temple to Sacciyā Mātā (mother Sacciyā) on the hill at Osian (Plate 9). In this connection, Lawrence A. Babb (1993:9) cites Osvāl origin myths—what he calls "the Osiyā legend"—both as told to him by priests (*pujārī*s) of the Sacciyā Mātā temple in 1991 as well as from printed sources, but does not make the distinction, as had Dhaky (1967:64), between Brahmanical and Jain versions. He describes Sacciyā Devī (goddess Sacciyā, i.e. Sacciyā Mātā) as "a Jain goddess enshrined at a famous temple at Osiyā, and clan goddess (*kul devī*) to many Osvāl Jains" (Babb 1993:9 n. 9). She is so, however, as our more recent research has shown, for only some communities of Jains, and she remains a multivalent goddess—serving multiple communities of Hindus as well as Jains—today.

Both the Sacciyā Mātā and Mahāvīra temples at Osian have had interesting histories of use, transformation, and re-use (Meister 1989). The Mahāvīra temple had been in the hands of Brahman ritual functionaries (*pujārī*s) for many centuries before its return to a committee of the Osvāl community within the twentieth century. The present Osvāl Jain

school was established only early in the twentieth century, in 1915.[4] The present *pujārī* at the temple (Plate 25), who confirms that he is "Brahman, not Jain,"[5] identifies the reestablishment of the temple and the founding of the community school with patronage from a devout lay Jain from the town of Phalodi.[6] This is supported in the *Jain Tīrth Sarvasaṅgrah* (Śāh 1953), where it is stated that no Jains resided in Osian at that time and that the temple was then managed from Phalodi.

New patronage for the extensive conservation and rebuilding of this earliest of Western Indian Jain temples in the late 1970s and 1980s, however—carried out in part, I suspect, in response to M.A. Dhaky's pioneering scholarship in the 1960s identifying the temple's historical importance to the present Western Indian Śvetāmbar Jain community (Dhaky 1968)[7]—has come instead from the Āṇandjī Kalyāṇjī trust in Ahmedabad, which had also taken on responsibility for many other major Jain pilgrimage temples throughout Gujarat and southern Rajasthan following independence.[8]

The Sacciyā Mātā temple's complex on the hill at Osian began with a shrine with an image of the goddess Kṣemaṅkarī (one of the Nava-Durgās) early in the eighth century CE (Dhaky 1967).[9] This small shrine seems to have been rebuilt as a much larger temple, with a cult image of Durgā-Mahiṣāsuramardinī late in the twelfth century (circa 1178 CE), then converted in part to Jain use, then or at a slightly later date.[10] Through all of these transformations, the local goddess, Sacciyā, was identified with whichever image was in the sanctum, regardless of its changing iconography or form (Plate 26). Inscriptions, as well as a much later text, the *Upakeśa Gaccha Paṭṭāvalī*, can give us some layered (if also veiled) information on these periods of temple use and reformulation (Bhandarkar 1912; Hoernle 1890; Nahar 1918).

Both temples have been the focus of considerable patronage by a variety of communities in the last forty years, leading to their restoration, expansion, rebuilding, and, to some degree, to a transformation of their roles. Whether this has led to a change in the "cultural" rather than "social" functions of these two temples depends in part on the view-points both of those who participate in and who analyze them.[11]

"Sweetmeats or Corpses?", my essay's title, refers to the story of Sacciyā Mātā's "conversion" from one ritual community to another, as reported both in inscriptions and in the Osian legend, and to the sounds of her "crunching"—first on corpses then on sweetmeats—heard throughout Osian's village in both Brahmanical and Jain myths (Hoernle 1890:237–38).[12]

As an art historian, I would argue that the courses of renovation and expansion in these two temple compounds are integral to our understanding of these structures as social and ritual as well as archaeological monuments—not simply a matter of chronology—and also that the renovations of recent decades are of an importance equal to the archaeological layering of earlier periods (Meister 1972; 1989).

The Sacciyā Mātā Temple Complex

M. A. Dhaky (1967) was the first to postulate an eighth-century temple—dedicated to an image of a benevolent form of the Goddess, Kṣemaṅkarī—on the hill at Osian, of which only the shrine image has survived (Plate 26).[13] Dhaky based his identification of this form of the Goddess on a description of the Nava-Durgās in the *Aparājitapṛcchā* as well as on other early surviving images. His speculation that this was "the original Saccikā Devī of the Pratihāra age" (ibid.:67) can be contrasted with two dated sculptures—an inscribed image of the fierce active goddess, Mahiṣāsuramardinī, from Juna dated 1180 CE (VS 1237) (Agrawala 1954a, 1954b), and an image in a San Francisco collection dated 1179 CE (VS 1236) (Bhattacharya 1992)—which for the first time clearly identify Sacciyā Mātā with Durgā through an image of a fierce rather than pacific form of the Goddess (Dhaky 1967:64).

An inscription of 1177 CE (VS 1234) is important because it gives us a date for the replacement of the older Kṣemaṅkarī shrine by the sanctum and superstructure of the present Durgā temple. It is located on the east wall of the sanctum, in the ambulatory, next to a *bhadra* image of Durgā as slayer of the demon, Mahiṣa; two other fierce goddesses, Śītalā and Cāmuṇḍā, fill corresponding central niches on the north and south walls of the sanctum (Dhaky 1967:66). This inscription refers to the wall-frieze of the *Śrī Saccikā-devi-prāsāda* as ornamented with five *pratimā* (visible-image) forms of the Goddess. These are, as cited in the inscription: "Caṇḍikā, Śītalā, Saccikādevī, Kṣemaṅkarī, and Kṣetrapāla" (Handa 1984:222). The present cult image placed in the sanctum takes the form of Durgā-Mahiṣāsuramardinī. Subsidiary Mahiṣāsuramardinī images also appear on the walls of many of the other Saura and Vaiṣṇava shrines at Osian in the eighth and ninth centuries (Meister 1991c–e) (Plate 26).

Also representing the first phase of architectural construction on the Sacciyā Mātā hill is the entry-hall and small rebuilt Satya Nārāyaṇa temple located to the northwest of the present Sacciyā Mātā temple-complex on the hill's western scarp (Meister 1983, 1991e:128–32). These two early structures are, in fact, slightly out of alignment with the east-west axis of the later complex and may represent an earlier approach to the hill (Plates 12, 18).

Contemporary with the now missing eighth-century Kṣemaṅkarī temple and standing just south of the present Sacciyā Mātā temple's sanctum is a shrine dedicated to the sun-god Sūrya based on his image placed in the central niche of its back wall (Meister 1991e:132–7). Other images on the walls of this shrine, however, suggest a Śaiva connotation, and Śiva perhaps would have been the more appropriate cosmic occupant, paired with the Goddess, for a set of eighth-century shrines.[14] The shrine is ecumenical, with Śaiva images on its north wall, Gaṇeśa on the central wall projection (*bhadra*) on the south, and the Jain Supārśvanātha flanking Sūrya on the west. The ceiling of the entry pavilion is marked by the entwined bodies of snakes (*nāga*s) and is ringed by Kṛṣṇa-līlā scenes, with images of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa over the large guardian figures (*dvārapāla*s) flanking the door (Meister 1973).[15]

Dhaky (1967) in his scholarship has presented a clear verbal reconstruction of the Sacciyā Mātā temple's complex as it existed in the early 1960s, with the west-facing Sūrya shrine embedded in the larger temple's mirrored hall, the eighth-century Kṣemaṅkarī image lying loose by its side (Plate 19).[16] He also has outlined several intermediate phases of enlargement and rebuilding that added a late-tenth century north-facing Vaiṣṇava sub-shrine attached to the south of the present pillared hall and two south-facing Vaiṣṇava sub-shrines of the eleventh century on the north, the placement of which would indicate an earlier main sanctum located where the twelfth-century Sacciyā Mātā shrine now stands (Plate 21). All of these subsidiary shrines thus preceded the construction of the present main shrine.[17]

Dhaky (1967:67), by his association of these Vaiṣṇava sub-shrines with an earlier main shrine, first questioned whether the original temple could have been Vaiṣṇava and the Goddess worshiped not Sacciyā Mātā but "Durgā as a Vaiṣṇava śakti." He concluded, however, primarily on the basis of the surviving eighth-century Kṣemaṅkarī image, that the original Sacciyā Mātā temple was a Kṣemaṅkarī shrine, replaced by the present Mahiṣamardinī sanctum in 1178 CE: "Why could it not be the cult image, the original Saccikā Devī of the Pratihāra Age?"

Ethnography and Conversion

Archaeology provides a frame but not the canvas for an exploration of patterns of social conversion and ritual culture at Osian. Written sources provide color and detail. Ethnographic observations (or at least their few recorded fragments) help define the ground (Meister 1995c). Yet it is discrepancies in these sources that help make the picture whole.

Bhandarkar (1907:36) was the first to report what he identified as a Brahmanical tradition that Osian (in this source founded under the name Melpur Pattan) was abandoned and re-peopled after a period of devastation by a Paramāra prince who took refuge (*osla*, here claimed as the etymology for Osa-nagari, i.e. Osian) under "the Pratīhāra rulers of Marwar": "It was this Uppaldev who built the temple of Sachiyā *mātā*." According to Bhandarkar's field information, this goddess at Osian was then considered "the tutelary goddess of the Sāṁkhlā Paramāras."

According to the *Upakeśa Gaccha Paṭṭāvalī* ("List of Pontiffs") (Hoernle 1890:233), on the other hand, the founding of Osian and of its "ancient Jain temple with a miraculous figure of Mahāvīra"[18] was attributed instead to a person named Ūhaḍa, who "migrated from a place called Bhīnmāl with a large following of Jain relatives and friends" (ibid.:233–34). In the story that follows, conversion of the Brahmanical population is associated with the arrival of the Jain sage, Ratnaprabhasūri, with 500 followers. These, the text says (ibid.:236), "stayed for a month in the wilderness, and wandered about in the exercise of their calling . . . but did not obtain any alms, for the people who lived there were unbelievers."

The description of this conversion seems to me particularly significant for any decoding of the multiple histories of the Sacciyā Mātā temple and its monuments. According to its translator (ibid.), "at another time Ratnaprabha-Sūri returned to that place, when he was advised by his tutelary goddess (*śāsaṇadēvī*) to stay four months, after which he would be successful."

Ūhaḍa's young son, bitten by a snake, was pronounced dead, then brought back to life by Ratnaprabha. (Brahmanical sources attribute this to a Jain ruse: Bhandarkar 1912:100; Dhaky 1967:63–64.)[19] Ūhaḍa, then, according to Hoernle (1890:236) "placed before the *Guru* a large quantity of gems, pearls, gold, cloths, and other things, and asked him to accept them. But the *Guru* said that he had no need of them, and exhorted the *Sēṭh* to adopt the Jain religion, which already numbered one *lākh* and a quarter (125,000) adherents."[20]

In response, according to the text,

> At first the *Sēṭh* began to build a magnificent temple for *Nārāyaṇa* [my emphasis]; but what he built in the day, fell in the night. He questioned all the people who saw it; but none was able to suggest a remedy. Then he asked the *Āchārya* Ratnaprabha the reason why his temple fell down every night. The *Guru* enquired, in whose name he was building it. The *Sēṭh* replied, in the name of *Nārāyaṇa*. The *Guru* said,—"that will not do; make it in the name of Mahāvīra; then you will succeed."[21]

Only after Ūhaḍa had begun to build such a temple did Ratnaprabha's "tutelary goddess"[22] tell him that (ibid.:236) "she had begun to make an image of Mahāvīra, worthy of that magnificent building, on the hill called after the salt-lake, towards the north of the temple." This seems a particularly ambiguous statement, given the geography of present-day Osian. The Mahāvīra temple, set on the plain, has the Sacciyā Mātā temple on the most prominent hill to its east-northeast. Does this translation suggest that the image should be worthy of that "magnificent building, on the hill"—the Sacciyā Mātā (Kṣemaṅkarī) temple northeast of the newly constructed eighth-century Mahāvīra temple—or that the tutelary goddess's newly made image, suitable for a magnificent new Mahāvīra temple, would be found south of the Sacciyā Mātā hill, near the smaller Luṇādrī hillock where Ratnaprabhasūri had first descended from the sky (Plate 30)? The latter seems more likely, given that Hoernle was not familiar with the site.

It should be clear from this description, however, that Ratnaprabha's own Jain guardian goddess (*śāsaṇadēvī*) was by no means the same goddess as Osian's Sacciyā Devī (nor that all Osvāls—the residents of Osian—had yet become Jains).[23] After the Jain temple's magical consecration, in fact, during which Ratnaprabha was said to have been in two places at the same time, only "*some* [my emphasis] of the relatives of the *Sēṭh* were converted from their unbelief to the profession of a *Śrāvaka* (Jain). *Then* [my emphasis] they were made to adopt the true faith (*samyaktva*) by the *Āchārya*" (ibid.:237). Only *then* does he say to them:

> O ye faithful, ye should not go to the temple of Sachchikādevī [Sacciyā Mātā]; she is merciless, and incessantly delights in hearing the sound of the breaking bones and the killing

of buffalos, goats, and other animals; the floor of her temple is stained with blood, and it is hung about with festoons of fresh skins; the teachers of her devotion, rites, and service are cruel men; she is altogether disgusting and horrible.

The guru's guardian goddess (*śāsaṇadēvī*), identified by other sources as Cakreśvarī, and Sacciyā Mātā, goddess of the place, serve separate roles. The goddess temple on the hill in the *Paṭṭāvalī*'s narrative preceded by a significant period the newly built temple on the plain for Mahāvīra, a chronology that, in my account, becomes somewhat intermixed.

The Mahāvīra Temple Compound

The Mahāvīra Jain temple at Osian is located on the desert west and slightly south of the Sacciyā Mātā hill. It faces north, set on a high basement, and was originally approached through a two-storied covered pavilion (*valānaka* or *nāl-maṇḍapa*). This compound entryway was renovated in the tenth century when a sub-shrine was added on the west; late in the eleventh century when a large ornamented ceiling was added over the stairway (Dhaky 1968);[24] and then late in the twentieth century when the hall was completely re-formed and the ceiling reinstalled (Plates 22–24, 34).

A long inscription dated 956 CE (VS 1013), was set into a niche on the north wall in this *valānaka* (now removed to the back aisle of the compound's colonnade). This inscription records that the father of a man named Jindaka had made additions to the entry-hall; that his wife, a follower of Jainism, had also made a contribution; and that Jindaka himself, on behalf of the temple committee, had been responsible for adding a small shrine (*jinadeva-dhāma*) during this important period of reformulation (Handa 1984:217–18).[25]

Because of this inscription's reference to Osian's existence in the time of Vatsarāja Pratīhāra, archaeologists have tended to use it to date all of the early group of temples at Osian, and particularly the Mahāvīra temple, to the late eighth century (Bhandarkar 1912; Dhaky 1968). Many later Jain sources, however, have instead attributed the founding of the present temple to the tenth-century, the date of this historical inscription and of the renovations that it records.[26]

In the last quarter of the twentieth century, this same entry-pavilion was substantially dismantled, then reconfigured and rebuilt using new as well as old materials. Eighth-century pillars taken from the front of this hall have been re-utilized to enlarge the fronting aisle (*mukhālinda*) of the main temple, making it into a much larger open hall.[27] Modern craftsmen (at a cost of circa Rs. 8,000 per pillar in 1989) have copied new columns from the style of the older ones (using photographs to make stencils). These have then been installed both to reshape the *valānaka* as well as to extend the hall for the main temple (Plate 24).[28]

If Dhaky (1968) can demonstrate that there were several archaeological layers to the "re-freshening" of this temple in ancient times, to approach the reasonings behind such reshapings in any period we benefit by turning to contemporary ethnography. John Cort

(1991:215 n. 5), for example, has reported on a recent renovation (*jīrṇoddhār*) of a Jain temple in Patan,

> Feelings about the renovation were mixed. Most people agreed that the new, spacious, marble structure will lack some of the *bhāv* of the old temple. But renovating a temple is a highly meritorious deed, and people admired the spirit of devotion which motivated the man who organized, and in part paid for, the renovation. . . . Everyone admitted that the existing structure was in need of extensive repairs, and not to have repaired the temple would have been an *āśātnā* (moral fault).

I would hypothesize that very little may have changed in these aspects of the ritual culture of Jain donors since the time of Jindaka and his family's renovations of the Mahāvīra temple at Osian in the tenth century CE.

An elaborately ornamented gateway (*toraṇa*) was added in front of the main temple's entry stair in 1018 CE (VS 1075) (Plate 23).[29] This had been moved to the north side of the compound, in order to accommodate the vast enlargement of the temple's pillared hall, where it served for a decade as a site for wedding photos (Vasavada 2001). More recently it was moved into the old Jain school's compound to act as entry to the temple compound for pilgrims staying there. Several elegant sub-shrines on the east and west were added at the same time as this tenth-century renovation as well as in the next century (Dhaky 1968:319–23). Inscriptions in the compound show that continuing activity occurred through the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries, when the present superstructure for the main shrine was first constructed (Handa:220–27).[30] An inscription dated 1188 CE (VS 1245) (only a decade after the rebuilding of the Sacciyā Mātā temple's main sanctum) on a pillar behind the Sacciyā Mātā temple's fortress-wall refers to a shed, to which Yaśodhara made a gift, for housing Mahāvīra's golden chariot (Handa 1984:223–24).

Each of these archaeological intercessions can be seen as a trace of a ritual culture working itself out in real time. That these past remediations are difficult to unpack is as much due to limited perspectives as to limited sources.

Accounts in the *Paṭṭāvalī of the Upakeśa Gaccha*

In this regard, what can we make of the references in the *Upakeśa Gaccha Paṭṭāvalī* to the building of a temple to the Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra at Osian? The text involved was published in an abridged translation by Rudolf Hoernle in 1890. Of the historical applicability of this text (or what he perceived as its lack of one) the Jainologist Walter Schubring (1962:68) wrote, "the fabulous *paṭṭ'āvalī* of this Gaccha probably written in the 2nd half of the 17th century, proves as an exception to the rule that these chronicles are mines of reliable dates regarding the history of Jain Orders and writings." Such a text, however, can preserve appropriations, re-appropriations, and re-formulations as complex as those found in the monuments themselves.[31] It provides a series of embedded clues to significant periods of transformation in the Jain community's perception of its monuments as well as a fantastic and fabulistic account of Osian's origin.

The Mahāvīra temple that stands dates both much later than the text's claim that Ratnaprabha "consecrated it in the 70th year after Mahāvīra's death" (Hoernle 1890:234) and many centuries earlier than the historical dates for Ratnaprabha, who probably was active in the twelfth century (Dhaky 1967:68).[32] First, this seventeenth-century text tells an interesting story about the sanctum image—repeated in other sources—that relates in an interesting way to the present image (Hoernle 1890:236–37). Today, the image is said to be made of clay and milk.[33] In the *Paṭṭāvalī* (ibid.), Ūhaḍa

> learned from the talk of the cowherds that at the place [where Ratnaprabha-Sūri's *śāsaṇadevī* was preparing the image] there was something that caused the cows to drop their milk. . . . [He], being impatient to see it, dug it up a few days earlier, when an image of the size of a lime with two nipples on its breast was found. The *Āchārya* said that it was still not quite finished, and advised him to wait [for its installation]; but the *Sēṭh* replied that the touch of the *Guru's* hand would complete it.[34]

The present image does indeed have knobs in odd places (Handa 1984:plate 136)—as nipples, at the throat and heart, and on shoulders and knees—that can best be explained by reference to contemporary ritual (Plate 30). Cort (1991:218) describes the beginning of the "eightfold *pūjā*" in the following way:

> After carefully cleaning the image, (the worshiper) bathes it with water and milk, and then dresses it. . . . Using the ring finger of his right hand, he performs the nine-limbed sandalwood-saffron *pūjā* to the *mūl-nāyak*, dabbing the sandalwood-saffron paste onto the (1) two big toes (2) two knees [etc.] . . . Many images have small silver knobs at these thirteen places, so the worshiper will not in any way damage the actual image.

The *Upakeśa Gaccha Paṭṭāvalī* (Hoernle 1890:237) records that Ratnaprabhasūri, following his installation of the found (*svayaṁbhū*) image, taught Ūhaḍa "the rules of the whole course of daily worship of the image of Mahāvīra which was in Upakēśapura (the rite of the daily eightfold *pūjā*); how to bathe it, and adore it, and so forth." In speaking of later *ācāryas* in the lineage, however, it also tells a different tale about "the rites connected with the bathing of Svayaṁbhū-Mahāvīra, and when and why they were instituted" (ibid.:238):

> At that very time, a festival which lasted eight days was held by the people in the temple. Among them were some young men to whom the evil thought suggested itself, that, as the two knobs on the breast of the blessed Mahāvīra were only an eyesore to the worshippers, there could be no harm in removing them. . . . The old people tried to dissuade them. . . . But they disregarded the old men's advice and bribed a carpenter to cut away the two knobs.

As might be expected, there were dire consequences to such an act: "At that very instant the carpenter died, and from the place where the two knobs had been cut away, there issued untold streams of blood. Great distress befell the people."

Other communities of Jains have told tales of decline, as at Bhinmal, attempting to use a mythic past to explain conditions of the present. The absence of Jains in Osian—that pilgrims should not stay the night—is rooted by the myth. Here, it is hard to believe, as a Westerner who has read both Freud and Wendy Doniger (O'Flaherty 1973), that stories of milk and blood do not also have to do with psychological issues of conception and birth (that is, with the origin of the community as well as its decline).

After Kakkasūri, the then living guru of the Upakeśa Gaccha, had fasted for three days, according to the *Paṭṭāvalī*, his *śāsaṇadēvī* (*not* said to be Sacciyā Mātā[35]) appeared (Hoernle 1890: 238–39) and "told him that the young *Srāvakas* had committed an outrage in mutilating the image and depriving it of its round parts (*kalā*)." As a result of this act, she asserted (ibid.:239) that "the town of Upakeśa would gradually become deserted, a schism would arise in the *gachchha* and quarrels among the *Śrāvakas*, and the guilds would be dispersed in all directions." To stop the blood, she demanded that all the *gotras* (lineages of Jains) gather, fast for three days, and then bathe the image of Mahāvīra in butter, curds, sugarcane juice, milk, and water—a special *snātra pūjā* discussed further by Babb (1996:153–5).

These descriptions of one Jain community's origination and dispersal from Osian in a seventeenth-century *Paṭṭāvalī* might support the passive/violent dichotomy of Jain/Hindu relationships proposed by Babb (1993:8) in the conversion myths of Jains he found in Rajasthan: "In this sense, Rājpūts and Jains are fundamentally 'other' to each other. But, at the same time, there is a point at which Rājpūt and Jain identity merge, at least from the Jain perspective." This may also seem most clear in the merging of what Cort (1987:249), following A. K. Ramanujan (1999b–c), calls "Breast" and "Tooth" Mothers in the story of Sacciyā Mātā's conversion.

Sacciyā Mātā's Conversion

I have used my own observations and interviews over the past forty years; those of D. R. Bhandarkar (1907, 1912) who, as an archaeologist, visited Osian early in this century; those of M. A. Dhaky (1968, 1975), who visited in the 1950s; and those of my colleagues John Cort (1987, 1991 and personal correspondence) and Lawrence Babb (1993) in recent years, to form an ethnographic frame for changes in the Jain community's perceptions of, and relationship to, the Osian monuments in the twentieth century. Bhandarkar (1907:36), for example, had recorded Brahmanical rather than Jain versions of the Osian legend early in the century, at a time when no Jains were living in Osian. He reported that Sacciyā Mātā was thought to be the "tutelary goddess of the [Hindu] Sāṁkhlā Paramāras." Dhaky (1967:63), in the l950s, found that "Oswal Jains of Saurashtra [in the neighboring western Indian state of Gujarat] have lost [all] memory of the goddess at Osia."

The form of Sacciyā Mātā as Kṣemaṅkarī, the original cult goddess on the Sacciyā Mātā hill, represented the great Hindu Goddess, Durgā, in a transcendent and beatific mode, comparable in the passivity (and power) of her presentation to that of a Jain sage

(Plates 26, 31). In its telling of the legend of Sacciyā Mātā's conversion, the *Upakeśa Gaccha Paṭṭāvalī* records (Hoernle 1890:238),

> the Devī entered the body of a maiden who was standing near, and thence replied,—"O Lord, I wanted one sort of thing to crunch and munch, but you have given me another sort." [Ratnaprabha] said that what she wanted was an animal sacrifice, but that it was neither proper for him to give, nor for her to take it. He then gave some further religious instruction, the result of which was that Sachchikā-dēvī [Sacciyā Mātā], who was still in the body of the maiden, was converted, in the presence of all the people who were there, becoming a follower (*bhakta*) of Mahāvīra in the city of Upakēśa, and a believer in the true faith; so much so that, letting alone flesh, *she could not even bear the sight of a red flower* [emphasis mine].

In this account the Goddess has become capable of offering protective services as does a *kul devī* (ibid.:238):[36]

> The Goddess (*satī*), by the mouth of the maiden in whose body she had entered, now said to her followers, "Listen; whoever of you shall worship the image of Svayaṁbhū-Mahāvīra which is set up in the city of Upakēśa, and shall follow the *Āchārya* Ratnaprabha, and shall serve his disciples and the disciples of his disciples, with him I shall be well pleased, his evils shall I remove, and his worship I shall heartily accept." In consequence of these words of Sachchhikā-dēvī, spoken by the maiden in whose body she had entered, a large number of people, in the course of time, adopted the profession of *Śrāvakas*.

If "the serene, supple bodied goddess" Kṣemaṅkarī (Dhaky 1967:67)—perhaps the fair maiden in this story?—could, by her own conversion to Jainism, have won back to herself those of her Hindu worshipers who had also been converted, what role was there for changing the cult image to a fierce, active form for Sacciyā? Why was Kṣemaṅkarī's temple rebuilt in 1178 CE, with an image of Durgā as the slayer of the demon Mahiṣā replacing that of Kṣemaṅkarī in its sanctum? Had Jainism chosen to give up a passive view of the Goddess (*vide* Vāc, the goddess of speech; Meister 1976) in order to counterbalance Brahmanical Durgā's fiercer aspects (Plate 26)?

Sacciyā Mātā's Challenge

When Ratnaprabha urged Ūhaḍa's relatives to refrain from the blood and gore of Sacciyā's temple (Hoernle 1890:237), they replied: "What you say, O Lord, is quite true; but if we do not go to worship that cruel Dēvī, she will slay us and her families."[37] The Goddess then challenged Ratnaprabha's theft of her followers, pricking his eyebrow, but he "resolutely replied that he would repay her the injury by his own power." Frightened, she "humbly said to him": "It is not seemly, O lord, for great sages, like yourself, to dispute and quarrel; if you will give me something to crunch and munch, I will remove your pain and be your servant, as long as the sun and moon endure." The *Ācārya* then went to her temple early in the morning with "two heaps of various kinds of cakes and sweetmeats, together with camphor, saffron, and other nice things" (ibid.:238). "Then having made worship apart

from the *Śrāvakas*, and crushing a quantity of cake with both his hands . . . he said to the Dēvī,—'I have given you something to crunch and munch, henceforth you must be a follower (*upāsakā*) of me'."

This de-fanging of the goddess—her conversion from *aghora* to *sāttvikā*—requires, it seems to me, that her "ambiguous duality"[38] be preserved. Sacciyā Mātā is both Jain and not Jain, Breast Mother and Tooth Mother. Dhaky (1967:69) has pointed out that an image of Mahiṣamardinī from the site of Juna, dated 1180 CE (VS 1237), for the first time labeled this fierce form of Durgā with the name "Saccikā" and that this image was the donation of a Jain nun. Sacciyā Mātā's fierce re-dedication to non-violence (*ahiṁsā*) can also be attested by an inscription of 1598 CE (VS 1655) that refers to Ratnaprabhasūri's conversion of Cāmuṇḍā (an even fiercer, wilder form of Durgā) to the Jain goddess, Sacciyā (Reu 1948:10).[39]

Community Conversion

Although many Jain sources repeat the claim that Ratnaprabhasūri consecrated the temple of Mahāvīra "seventy years after Mahāvīra's death" (Hoernle 1890:234), Dhaky (1967:68) must be closer to historical reality in stating that "there is no point in attaching a very early date to Ratnaprabha-suri. [The] one prominent figure of that name . . . flourished in the twelfth century."

What this must mean is that the settlement of some Jains in Osian from Bhinmal—and their establishment of the Mahāvīra temple in the eighth century—had little historically to do with the conversion of Sacciyā Mātā on the hill to vegetarianism. Yet their stories have been conflated in ways meant to reinforce changing meanings in the nature of Jain identity. Dhaky (1967:68), referring to the rise of Solaṅkī patronage of Jainism in the twelfth century, concluded, "It is not easy to tell whether Ratnaprabha-suri invoked the temporal power or used [his own] persuasive means to stop the sacrifices at the altar of Sacciyā." He points out that the Solaṅkī ruler Kumārapāla had, in the twelfth century, "stopped the animal sacrifices at the altar of Devi Kantesvari whose shrine was founded in the eighth century at Anhilapātaka . . . and who was the kulāmbā [lineage goddess] of the Cāpotkatas and subsequently of the Solankis of Gujarat."

Handa (1984:47) has suggested that the Mahāvīra temple at Osian was dedicated originally to Pārśvanātha in the eighth century, then rededicated to Mahāvīra, perhaps at the time of the structure's renovation in the tenth century.[40] All that is certain is that the structure was both renovated and expanded in the late tenth and eleventh century at a time when substantial patronage was also being expended on the building of the Vaiṣṇava sub-shrines for the original Sacciyā Mātā temple.

Brahmans were still worshiping in the Sacciyā Mātā temple late in the twelfth century, after the rebuilding of its main sanctum in 1178 CE, as attested by an inscription on a pillar in the *maṇḍapa* dated VS 1247 (circa 1190 CE) (ibid.:224) and by other inscriptions (Bhandarkar 1912:110). And one should not forget that in "the Osiyā myth"

presented by the *Upakeśa Gaccha Paṭṭāvalī*, Ūhaḍa first attempted to build a temple to Viṣṇu in the form of Nārāyaṇa (Hoernle 1890:236), not a Jain shrine.

The Epigraphic section of the Archaeological Survey of India *Annual Report* for 1921-22 (ASI 1924:119) reported on a series of inscriptions at Osian, which date from VS 1135 to 1524 (1078–1467 CE), found on the backs of brass images from Jain temples:

> They mention the names of donees, the year of gift and the names of Jain teachers who performed the consecration ceremonies. Various castes including the Balāhī (*sic*) are also mentioned. As Mr. Ojha says that the Balādis are at present an untouchable caste among Hindus, the mention of the name as a class in the Ukesa caste is proof of the story of the wholesale conversion of the town of Osian [Ukesa] to Jainism.

The *Upakeśa Gaccha Paṭṭāvalī* itself would seem to suggest, not so much the mass conversion of Osian's population to Jainism, as its gradual conversion and initiation into Jain practices and rituals. The placid goddess Kṣemaṅkarī may have seemed too little "other"—that is, too lacking in the fierce qualities of Durgā that were in need of changing—to emphasize this process. Cāmuṇḍā and Mahiṣamardinī better could represent Sacciyā Devī, the local goddess, who gave up corpses for sweetmeats (as illustrated and named by the Juna image dated 1180 CE, given by a Jain nun).[41] Whether the temple's major rebuilding in 1178 CE and its rededication to an image of Durgā slaying Mahiṣa—but given the name of Sacciyā as at Juna—was then meant in part to serve Jain purposes is unclear, yet through "the Osiyā myth" of Sacciyā's conversion from meat to sweetmeats, this image could still make the temple available to both communities. Only a decade later the wife of Yaśodhara, according to the inscription, would provide a shed for Mahāvīra's chariot (Bhandarkar 1912:110).

Babb (1996, 1998b) makes clear a triangular relationship in the ritual culture of Jains that anticipates the geographic relationship of the Mahāvīra and Sacciyā Mātā temples at Osian for pilgrims (as well as, in part, the need for Sacciyā Mātā's accommodation to Jainism). In his view, deities are the model worshipers in Jainism; Tīrthaṅkaras the non-responsive focus for worship; and patrons the reflexive recipients through ritual of the deflection of what is unclean. What better exchange than to have the Goddess receive sweetmeats from the Jain sage; become a devotee of the Tīrthaṅkara; and her purified temple to act as one ritual axis for Jain pilgrims, who otherwise focus on the Jina represented in the Mahāvīra temple (except for those who, as we subsequently found out, do not worship Jina images at all).

Community Use Today

Bhandarkar (1912:101), during his visit in 1907, was able to record the Brahmanical myth that Ratnaprabha, by faking a snakebite, had forced "the king and his subjects" to embrace Jainism:

> This enraged Sachiyā Mātā, as she could no longer obtain any living victims. She cursed the people, and defied them to stay there. . . . [The Osvāls] had to flee in all directions. But they

prayed to the goddess, and propitiated her to the extent of allowing them to present offerings to her after the performance of marriage rites. And no Osvāl now passes at Osiā the night of the day on which he pays homage to the *mātā* for fear of being overtaken by some calamity.

Of the temple, he says (ibid.:109):

It is a sacred place in Mārwāṛ, and people from even as far south as Pālanpur come here to worship the goddess. It is, however, the Ōsvāl Jainas, who regard her with particular reverence. They bring their children to the temple for the tonsure ceremony, and invariably present offerings to the goddess after the performance of marriage rites. The worshipers dare not pass the night at Osiā after paying their homage to the goddess, for if they do so, they are sure to be overtaken by some calamity or other.[42]

This prohibition certainly no longer seems to be the case. Not only was the Jain Higher Secondary school founded and the Mahāvīra temple itself restored in the last century, but the Sacciyā Mātā temple also has, in the last few decades, increasingly been the recipient of lay Jain support (but primarily of non-temple-worshiping Jains). The present pilgrimage shrine on the hill of Sacciyā Mātā is still visited by both Hindus and Jains, and its trustees are both Jain and Hindu.[43] Since the end of the nineteenth century, its expansion, re-formation, and redefinition have not stopped.

Between Bhandarkar's and Dhaky's visits, for example, local craftsmen carefully rebuilt the demolished superstructure of the Sūrya temple next to the Sacciyā Mātā temple's sanctum out of ancient pieces.[44] Colored glass and white marble were used to ornament the sacrificial hall of the Sacciyā Mātā temple in which "coconuts, fruits, flowers, and sweets; no meat" are now offered by either of the two user communities (Plates 8, 11).[45]

Up to the early 1970s, this temple's ancient compound had stood in splendid isolation on its hill, approached by a long flight of steps on the west, with only a few rooms for pilgrims alongside (Plate 9). In recent years, however, an increasing flood of Jain pilgrims have come to the temple (Plate 31). The results of their patronage can be seen in the compound's rapid expansion. Nine new Goddess temples are under construction that ring the older structure's compound wall.[46] New facilities for pilgrims increasingly cover the hill, and a series of elegant gateways (*toraṇas*) now march up the staircase, each with its own set of dedicatory inscriptions (Plate 18).

Conclusion

What I think we are seeing in recent years is a specific contemporary reclamation of Osian by lay Jain pilgrims. The Mahāvīra temple, now recognized within the Jain community as Western India's oldest Jain temple, has received substantial institutional support, attention and funds from the Āṇandjī Kalyāṇjī trust in Ahmedabad for the past thirty years, from the mid 1970s. It now receives as many as 20,000 Jain visitors a year from all parts of India. Sacciyā Mātā, therefore, it seems to me, has, in relatively recent times, changed from

being a local personal goddess serving a variety of resident communities in Marwar more specifically into a restored *kul devī* (origination goddess) for certain of the extended communities of Osvāl Jains.[47] If Bhandarkar (1907:36, 1912:100) in 1907 could record only Brahmanical versions of the Osian myth at the site and Sacciyā Mātā was then thought to be the "tutelary goddess" of the Hindu Sāṁkhlā Paramāras, by the 1960s Dhaky (1967:63) found her instead to be the "patron goddess of the Oswal banias who are mostly Jainas."

Published lists of sacred sites (*tīrthas*) for Jain pilgrimage focus largely, at Osian, on the temple of Mahāvīra, but A.P. Śāh (1953) reports that the handwritten *Osval Utpatti* says that Ratnaprabhasūri, after enlightening the goddess Cāmuṇḍā Devī, gave her the name "Sacciyāyaka Mātā" much as the Jain nun who had a sculpture of the fierce form of Durgā slaying the demon Mahiṣa dedicated at Juna had that image inscribed with the name of Sacciyā (both reclaiming the goddess from Hindu and local uses for Jain ones).

The seventeenth-century *Upakeśa Gaccha Paṭṭāvalī* (Hoernle 1890) makes clear, however, that the *śāsaṇadēvī* who assisted Ratnaprabhasūri was not the Goddess he converted; that converting the Goddess had, in fact, its risks for the community; and that her temple continued to welcome all residents of Osian, whether Hindu or Jain. That Vaiṣṇavas and Jains had interacted in a "ritual culture" that made this possible is signaled by the monuments that have, over many centuries, ringed the Sacciyā Mātā hill, and by the ritual life at Osian today.

The temple that verified early Osvāl conversion to Jainism, however, was not that dedicated to Sacciyā Mātā, but that built for the *svayambhu* image of Mahāvīra that was created, according to the *Paṭṭāvalī of the Upakeśa-Gaccha*, by Ratnaprabhasūri's *śāsaṇadēvī*. Yet—first built in the eighth century CE and then renovated or re-founded in 956 CE—the real existence of this temple must demonstrate a strong Jain presence in Osian many years before Ratnaprabha's historical time. It may thus, indeed, have been the *re*-formulation of *Sacciyā's* temple, not the building of the Mahāvīra temple—from one with an image of Kṣemaṅkarī to one of Durgā-Mahiṣamardinī (yet by doing so from meat-eater to a cruncher of sweets)—that Ratnaprabhasūri precipitated on his arrival at Osian in the twelfth century.[48] If so, his re-imagining of ritual culture at Osian was one across "open boundaries," not closed ones.

Recent lay patronage at Osian of the Sacciyā Mātā temple also fits well into the re-imaging of present-day Rājpūt Jains in Jaipur recorded by Babb (1993). The local warrior Goddess, Sacciyā, as slayer of demons, suits the need to define a "proper" Rājpūt *kul devī* origin (Harlan 1992:52–90) for at least one lay Jain community.[49] Such an interpretation, as at all periods in Osian's past, however, also represents non-linearity of use and of interpretation—that is, the lack of a single way to tell the story—inherent in both history and scholarship. Contested and multivalent as history may be, it would be unwise to conclude that a modern community's assertion of its origin need reflect documentable history more than its longing for an "embedded" past. As Romila Thapar (1986:354–5) wrote:

> Each version of the past which has been deliberately transmitted has a significance for the present, and this accounts for its legitimacy and its continuity. The record may be one in which historical consciousness is embedded: myth epic and genealogy; or alternatively it may refer to the more externalized forms: chronicles [etc.]. . . . There is no evolutionary or determined continuum from one form to the other and facets of the embedded consciousness can be seen as part of the latter, whether introduced deliberately or subconsciously.

Jains, Hindus—Indians, humans—share porous boundaries. Brahman *pujārīs* hereditarily serve in the Mahāvīra and other Jain temples; Jain pilgrims patronize the Sacciyā Mātā temple's many shrines, but Vaiṣṇavas and other Hindu communities still worship there. One temple demonstrates no greater fluidity than the other. Both seem able to serve a deeper ritual culture that Babb (1998:161) can characterize as "neither Hindu nor Jain" but "simply South Asian." Local Muslim and Hindu craftsmen continue to carry out renovations on these temples; those on the Mahāvīra Jain temple are now supervised in part by Sompurā Brahmans employed by Jains in Ahmedabad (yet more recently they have also been employed to renovate the Sacciyā Mātā compound and by the State Archaeological Department to reconstruct other desert shrines). Such permeability denies no boundaries, only opens them.

Notes

1. Of the ritual culture of Jains, Babb (1998b:150–51) wrote, "The fact that the object of worship is an apotheosized ascetic generates much of this ritual culture's distinctive structure and spirit."
2. The Archaeological Survey of India's Western Circle Annual Reports located in Harvard's Widener library are bound with the original sketch plans drawn by D. R. Bhandarkar of the compounds of the Sacciyā Mātā and Mahāvīra temples (Plate 8).
3. Bhandarkar (1907:37) describes their use as public latrines.
4. Personal communication from the *pujārī*, Bhanuprakash Sharma, in 1990.
5. Bhandarkar (1910:63) records that the *pujārīs* in the Jain temples in Merta were "of the *sevak* Brāhmaṇa caste," and an inscription of VS 1405 ordained that "only those Brāhmaṇas, who were descended from Lokeśvara" could serve in the temples of "Pārśvanātha and Phalaudhī."
6. This town is Pokaran-Phalodi, not Merta-Phalodi, where there also are Jain temples. According to Cort, this same family has served the temple for the past three generations, or circa 100 years (personal communication 1988).
7. Dhaky traveled to the Osian temples early in the 1960s and left a record of his estimate of the importance of the Mahāvīra temple as well as a plea for more attention to its conservation in the visitor's book at the entrance to the Jain school.
8. Cort (personal communication 1988) records that "money for *jīrṇoddhar*" at the Mahāvīra temple in 1987 was "coming from Āṇandjī Kalyāṇjī." The present *pujārī* reports also on Kasturbhai Lalbhai's involvement in the restoration of the temple begun more than thirty years ago and of Kasturbhai's son Shrenikbhai today. Cort reports, however, that no money for the expansion of the Sacciyā Mātā temple had come from the Āṇandjī Kalyāṇjī trust but rather some "money from individual Jains." See Cort 2000a.

9. M. C. Joshi (1994:206) questions Dhaky's identification of Kṣemaṅkarī and sees the form of this goddess as associated with the Hellenic and Hellenistic warrior goddess Cybele.
10. Handa (1984:224), in reference to an inscription of VS 1246 (CE 1190), states, "it seems that in the thirteenth century and later, the myths about the *en masse* conversion of people to Jainism were evolved."
11. Babb (1998:143, 150) points out that the deities "are Jainism's paradigmatic worshipers." The focus of worship, however, must be "a Tīrthankar or one who is like a Tīrthankar" and the relationship of patron to ritual is both "displaced" and "reflexive." Babb (1996:16) wrote, "In the materials to be presented here, ritual emerges not just as theater-like, but as a theater of soteriological and social identities."
12. Hoernle (1890:237 and note 23), translates *kaḍaḍa-maḍaḍa* as "something to crunch and munch" and refers also to Gujarati *kaḍ'kaḍ'vuṁ*, "to crack."
13. Initially lying as a loose image in the temple compound on the southwest next to the *jagatī* of the Sūrya subshrine (Dhaky 1967), this image has now been "enshrined" in a locked cage in the southeast corner of the Sacciyā Mātā temple's large *maṇḍapa*.
14. A similar set of paired shrines, with Śiva and the Goddess, exists at Menal in eastern Rajasthan (Meister 1991b:277–83).
15. A similar ecumenism is shown by the superstructure of the Satya Nārāyaṇa temple (Meister 1991e:128–32).
16. He misses the presence of the Satya Nārāyaṇa shrine and gateway but does record a number of eighth-century sculptural fragments within the Sacciyā Mātā compound and documents the inscription of 1178 CE that dates construction of the present main Sacciyā Mātā sanctum and tower.
17. An inscription of VS 1247 (1190 CE) in the enlarged pillared hall records that "*brāhmaṇas* continued to worship her" (Handa 1984, 224). Other inscriptions show that screens were added to the earlier sub-shrines in VS 1421 (1364 CE) (ibid.:225).
18. Cited in Hoernle (1890) from Muni Ātmārāmjī's *Ajñāna-timira-bhāskara*, pt. 2, p. 16.
19. O'Flaherty (1973:26) writes, "Snakes represent death and the underworld, but also rebirth (for they slough their skins and are reborn)."
20. Babb (1993:9) cites Bhūtoṛiyā's account instead (1988:70–71), where the *ācārya* "said that he would restore the prince's life only if all the people would accept Jainism. The people agreed, the prince was revived, and 125,000 Rājpūts became Jains."
21. Perhaps significantly, most of the eighth-century shrines at Osian, as well as the tenth—eleventh century sub-shrines in the Sacciyā Mātā complex, are dedicated to Viṣṇu.
22. According to John Cort (personal communication 1988; see also Cort 1987) Jain *śāsanadēvīs* are *yakṣīs* who preside over "the *śāsana* established by each Jina. Since the Upakeśa Gaccha claims to be descended from the *śāsana* established by Pārśvanātha, the *śāsanadevī* would be Padmāvatī. But nowhere does the text name her."
23. Babb (1993:9), following a version in Bhūtoṛiyā's history (1988), says, "Saciyā Devī appeared in person and begged [the *ācārya*] to teach Jainism to the people." This seems to be a confusion; both it and subsequent details suggest that Bhūtoṛiyā's version conflates Brahmanical with Jain sources.
24. A number of inscriptions on pillars in this *nāl-maṇḍapa* of VS 1231 (circa 1174 CE) (Handa 1984:221–22) can suggest an alternate date for this elaborate ceiling.
25. Handa (1984:69) speculates that the *devakulikā* no. 5 attached to the *nāl-maṇḍapa* on the east "may have been the '*Jinadeva-dhāma*' constructed by Jindaka in A.D. 956."

26. Śāh (1953:173–74, 315–16) says the temple was built in VS 1013. He also reports that the *Osiyā Vīr Stavan*, written in VS 1712, records the *pratiṣṭhā* of the image in the sanctum in VS 1017 and that a handwritten manuscript entitled *Osvāl Utpatti* records that "Osa vaṃśa was established in V.S. 1011 at [the] pleasure of Osiyā Mātā, and in V.S. 1017 [the] temple was built."
27. The decision to open up the *maṇḍapa*, according to the present *pujārī*, was made "primarily to help the pilgrims so that their heads wouldn't be hit" (a reference, perhaps, to the lower-storey entrance through the original *nāl-maṇḍapa*, now destroyed).
28. This work has been done with the guidance of Bachhubhai Sompura from Ahmedabad, but many craftsmen have been locally trained and employed. The carving for pillars and a new *toraṇa*, however, was done in Palitana (Krishan Chandra Sompura, personal communication).
29. Bhandarkar, Ojha, and Dhaky have given this date; Handa (1984:219), following Nahar's printed transcription, gives VS 1035. The style of the *toraṇa* corresponds better with the former reading.
30. Dhaky (1968:326) first dated this *śikhara* to the time of the *toraṇa*, but has since changed his mind. Bhandarkar (1912:108) recorded that "I gathered from the villagers that it was in ruins a hundred years ago, and was rebuilt of the fallen pieces."
31. For "recent theoretical discussions on the relationship between facticity and the principal historical genre of narrative" see Cort 1998b. Schubring (1962:68 n. 4) states that the complete text of the *Paṭṭāvalī* can be found in Jinavijaya, *Jain Sāhitya Saṃśodhak* I. This was reprinted by Muni Darśanvijay in 1933.
32. Dhaky (1967), while insisting that Ratnaprabhasūri "flourished in the twelfth century," adds that "he was not the disciple of the illustrious Hemacandra as Brahmanical legend purports to say, but of Hemacandra's senior contemporary Vādi Devasuri" who had two works completed "in A.D. 1277 [and] A.D. 1282." (These dates seem to be a mistyping. Vādidevasuri was active early in the twelfth century.)
33. Cort (personal communication 1988) cites a *pujārī* for this information who also gave the date of the image as "Vīr Saṁvat 72."
34. Such a miraculous origin for a found image has wide currency (Eichinger Ferro-Luzzi 1987), as do other magical tales surrounding the temple (Granoff 1990, 1993).
35. The account of a still later guru of the Upakeśa Gaccha, Kakkudācārya (Hoernle 1890:239–40), does have "Sacyakā" in attendance, when violence is part of the outcome: when a landholder named Somaka mistakenly suspects the guru of misbehavior ("capable of indulging in sensual pleasures after the manner of prostitutes"), the Goddess boxes his ears "and he began to vomit blood."
36. See Harlan 1992:118–20.
37. Schubring (1962:69–70) refers to traditions from other Gacchas that permit the worship of "Cāmuṇḍā and other local deities."
38. Babb (1993:13) uses this phrase to characterize the identity of all Rājpūt-origin Jains.
39. This sixteenth-century inscription is the first to record Ratnaprabha's association with the story of Sacciyā's conversion. The importance of the fifteenth century's "renascent" Hinduism—producing also such major Jain temples as the one at Ranakpur—needs emphasis (Dhaky 1965–66).
40. Evidence for this is slim. Handa refers to an image of Pārśvanātha dated VS 1035 now in the Jodhpur Museum, to Supārśvanātha on a lintel in the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* and to the image of Supārśvanāth on the northeast corner of the Sūrya temple south of the Sacciyā Mātā temple.
41. It is also true that many Vaiṣṇava communities had already taken a similar path.
42. Dhaky (1967:63–64) repeats this story in Bhandarkar's words, but does not confirm whether he found any such prohibition still in place.

43. An inscription of VS 1236 refers to "Śrī-Saccikā-devī-dvāraṁ *Bhojakai*," of which Handa writes (1984:223), "the family of Bhojakas mentioned in the inscription still serves as the priests of the Saciyā, the Mahāvīr and other temples."
44. Bhandarkar (1912:plate 44b) shows this superstructure in ruins; Dhaky, who took its authenticity for granted, was told by local craftsmen that it had been "built" by their grandfathers.
45. Cort (personal communication 1988) also records that the temple's food-hall serves only vegetarian food "but also potatoes," i.e. a root vegetable eaten by Vaiṣṇavas but not by proper Jains.
46. Are these the Nava-Durgās of whom Kṣemaṅkarī is one?
47. Babb (1993:9 n. 9), refers to her as "clan goddess (*kul devī*) to *many* Osvāl Jains" (my emphasis). Dhaky (1967:63), on the other hand, had pointed out that Osvāls of Saurashtra, by the 1950s, had lost all memory of this goddess. After our fieldwork we have developed a fuller understanding of the dissimilar processes by which these two temples have received funds for renovation over the past three decades, as is explored in this volume.
48. Dhaky's comment (1967:68) is that "the general atmosphere of the age which favour[ed] non-violence under Jaina influence and piety of the great Jaina Sage may have ultimately helped compel the animal killers at the door of Sacciyā to stop their violent acts."
49. Babb (1993:20) elegantly concludes his discussion of Jain devotees worshiping a Dādāguru by saying "they are kings and queens in need of healing, and are invoking an old bargain."

2

Time and Temples

On Social and Metrical Antiquity

LAWRENCE A. BABB

A temple can be many things: a venue for ritual, a locus of sacred power, a crystallization of social energy, an object (sometimes) of beauty, and much else. This chapter treats temples as physical substrata for the deposit of historical ideas. The temples in question are three in Rajasthan: the Dadhimatī temple at Goth-Manglod (near Nagaur) and the Mahāvīra and Sacciyā Mātā temples at Osian. Everyone agrees that these temples are very old. From a modern-historical point of view, the Osian temples date from the eighth century CE (though not the current Sacciyā Mātā structure) and the Dadhimatī temple possibly from as early as the seventh century CE (though, again, not the current structure) (Meister 1991c:182–91; 1991d:252–54; 1991e:128; also, chapter three in this volume). But this is not the only possible point of view, for there are also indigenous interpretations of the antiquity of these structures, and—as will be seen—these interpretations are very different from those of modern historians. This difference is our subject. What do people mean when they say a thing is very old?

Timescapes

The canard that the Indic world has no sense of history surely deserves a decent burial. It is true that India has produced cyclical visions of time's passage, and it is at least arguable that these visions are, in and of themselves, inhospitable to the sense of the importance of linear sequence that seems so crucial to historical reasoning (cf. Eliade 1971). But as John Cort (1995) has shown for the Jains, the cyclical timescape is by no means the whole story,

for in India we also find genres of historical writing—Cort calls them "localized histories"—that are conceived and formulated within linear timescapes. So much for India's lack of historical consciousness; linear time, it seems, has an honored place in the Indic world. Still, this does not necessarily mean that all linear visions of time's passage are alike, and this brings us to the important issue of how Indic constructions of history might differ, if they do, from those of modern historians.

The question of what distinguishes the modern historian's craft is a vexed one, and far beyond the scope of this chapter. So instead of trying to grapple with such a large question, I would like to focus on a particular point of difference that relates directly to the question of the meaning of antiquity. This is the issue of how time is measured. Let us stipulate at the outset that, among many other things that might be said of them, modern historians operate within a timescape that is scalar in the sense that it is divisible into equal and countable units, and thus exactly measurable. I call this timescape *metrical time*. There is nothing in the least arcane about metrical time in India; Indian civilization has produced several scalar dating systems. But in India (and not only in India) metrical time coexists with another scheme, one that is linear but not scalar. I call it *social time*, and it will be the focus of much that follows.

There is nothing new about the idea of social time. It is a theme in the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1977:Ch. 3), but the idea is probably most famously expressed in E. E. Evans-Pritchard's discussion, in his study of the political institutions of the Nuer (1940:94–138), of the relationship between social structure and space and time. Social relationships among the Nuer, he says, take the form of closeness or distance in "structural space" in a way that is only partly related to physical reality. From the standpoint of a metrically-minded outside observer, it is as if space is somehow distorted by social forces. Time is similarly malleable (ibid.:94–104; 198–201), and this is most dramatically illustrated by the way the Nuer trace patrilineal descent. Were genealogies mere records of begettings, they would obviously grow longer with every generation. Nuer genealogies, however, maintain a constant depth over time. This is because they are records of the past that express the social relations of the present. Social distance (i.e. distance in structural space) is expressed by means of the temporal depth of common ancestry, and as long as social distance stays the same, so does lineage depth. Constant lineage depth is made possible by a selective amnesia in which the Nuer remember only those ancestors who are the starting points of lineages or lineage segments, with others dropping out of the system. This is social time, linear but not metrical.[1]

It should be stressed that social time is not simply metrical time badly or incompletely reckoned. It is, rather, a timescape that allows the social present to be invested with certain kinds of meaning. Thus, while metrical time passes at the rate of one year per annum, social time elapses at a rate determined by the relationships of which it is a temporal expression. Moreover, metrical time is a universal framework. Although different cultures have different metrical dating systems (thus the year 2000 was not everybody's millennium), mutual conversion is a mere matter of arithmetic. Social time, however, is

relative time; events within it take on significance only in relation to specific groups or communities.

In this chapter I want to show how indigenous thinking about the antiquity of our three temples occurs against the backdrop of social time expressed in a genealogical format. Here, too, Cort has blazed our trail by showing the crucial importance of this format to Indic historiography in a linear mode (1995:180–85). I turn first to the Dadhimatī temple at Goth-Manglod. The indigenous timescape on which this temple is located is, in essence, simple genealogical time. I then turn to the more complex case of the temples at Osian; here we see that genealogy is a loose format that is susceptible to interesting variations. At the end of the chapter I look briefly at how social and metrical ideas of the temples' antiquity are currently interacting.

Social Time and the Dadhimatī Temple

The Dadhimatī temple belongs to a class of temples that might be called *origin temples* (as do the Osian temples). These are temples that are associated with the creation of specific social groups, in this case, the Dāhimā Brahmans (also known as Dādhīc Brahmans), a Brahman caste prominent in Rajasthan. For them, the temple is the actual site of the creation of their community and the shrine of their caste goddess (*kul devī*), whose name is Dadhimatī. The connection between the temple and the caste's origin is emphasized by a tree-shaped caste genealogy (*vaṃś vṛkṣ*) conspicuously displayed on one of the temple's inner courtyard walls. The origin account was originally transmitted (probably in many variants) by the caste's genealogists (known as Rāvs); more recently it has appeared in a more systematized form in a Sanskrit composition of uncertain origin called *Dadhimathī Purāṇa* (hereafter referred to as the *Purāṇa*). This text was first published in book form with a Hindi translation early in the twentieth century and again in 1981; it appears to be the basis (or part of the basis) for other versions subsequently presented in various caste publications and is the source of the summary given here.[2]

The Origin of the Dāhimā Brahman Caste

The tale opens (leaving aside certain framing-story preliminaries) with the birth of Brahmā from a lotus growing from the sleeping Viṣṇu's navel. (The *Purāṇa* story is retold in greater detail and from a slightly different angle in chapter nine of this volume.) Brahmā fathered the sage Atharvā (Skt. Atharvan). Atharvā married a woman named Śānti, who bore him a son and daughter. The daughter was a goddess named Nārāyaṇī Devī (later Dadhimatī), and at a later point the text describes how she destroyed Vikaṭāsur, a demon who threatened the sovereignty of the gods. The son was a great sage named Dadhīci, who is revered by the Dāhimā Brahmans as their common ancestor.

The precipitating cause of the caste's origin was the gods' difficulty with another demon, the famous Vṛtrāsur. Finding themselves unable to defeat him, the gods sought the advice of Viṣṇu. He sent them to Dadhīci, famed as an ascetic, to obtain his power-charged

bones out of which to fashion a thunderbolt-weapon (*vajra*).[3] They did so, and in the end were victorious.[4] Now, when the gods were on their way to Dadhīci's hermitage to get the bones, he knew they were coming. Wishing to leave his wife with a son, the sage deposited some semen in a cloth that he gave to her for washing; she thereupon went to the Ganges, and when she entered the water with the cloth, she became pregnant. Only after returning to the hermitage did she learn of Dadhīci's sacrifice. Brahmā told her of the son she carried, so before becoming a *satī* she cut out her womb and gave it to Brahmā, who placed it in the custody of a pipal tree. Because of the boy's association with the pipal tree, he came to be known as Pipplād. In time, Pipplād became a great sage and the father of twelve sage-sons;[5] in time they also produced twelve sons each, who became sages of great renown.

The story now turns to a king named Māndhātā.[6] In order to conquer the three worlds, he sponsored a great sacrifice, and on the advice of Vaśiṣṭh, he invited Pipplād's 144 grandsons to officiate, making them into "*ācāryas*." It was a vegetarian sacrifice directed at the goddess Dadhimatī, and was conducted at the site of the Dadhimatī temple, which the text refers to as *kapāl piṭh*. Pleased by the sacrifice, the goddess herself emerged from the sacrificial pit (*kuṇḍ*). The 144 priests asked her to be their clan goddess (*kul devī*) and to fulfill the king's desires, which she agreed to do. She ordered that her sacrifices should never involve the killing of animals, and described various benefits that would result from bathing in the pit. She then stepped into the pit and vanished. Although (as the text makes clear) the 144 sages were not of the sort to make material demands, they nonetheless accepted payment (*dakṣiṇā*) from the king in the form of a village and a bride for each of them (given with pipal leaves). The text then describes how Māndhātā prospered as a result of his worship of the goddess. It closes with a description of the benefits of her rites of worship together with instructions for their performance.[7]

The *Purāṇa* says nothing of the building of the temple itself. Rather, the physical focus of the tale (insofar as it relates to the temple) is the sacrificial pit, which Dāhimā Brahmans believe to have become the bathing *kuṇḍ* adjacent to the temple today; Dadhimatī herself, they say, filled it with power-charged water (Plate 34). As for the building of the temple, a widely known and constantly retold legend maintains that the goddess's image—and in some tellings the temple itself—emerged from the earth (a theme we shall encounter again). The goddess had warned a herdsman that there would be a great commotion when she came out from the ground and that he should not be afraid. But when the moment came, he forgot the warning and fled from the spot (or, in another telling, shouted "stop mother!" in order to recall his fleeing cows [Plate 28]). As a result, only the goddess's skull (some say knee) had enough time to appear, which explains the dome-shaped, aniconic image that is the temple's principal object of worship. Some say that the temple emerged from the ground at this time. Another telling holds that Māndhātā actually built the temple at the goddess's direction, but that it was hidden until she emerged from the earth (Jośī n.d.:4).[8]

Analysis

Among other things to be sure, this text is about the establishment of a line of descent. The text shows how the Dāhimā Brahman caste consists of patriclans descended from the 144 sons of the twelve sons of Pipplād.[9] His father was the great sage Dadhīci, who was descended, through Atharvā, from the creator deity Brahmā. All Dāhimā Brahmans are thus shown to be agnatically related and to share a distinguished Brahman pedigree. The text attaches the goddess Dadhimatī to the genealogy as Dadhīci's sister, thus providing the scaffolding for a perpetual relationship between her and Dadhīci's progeny.

The assertion of common patrilineal descent for the Dāhimā Brahmans raises the obvious question of how caste endogamy is possible. I discussed this issue with various individuals. Most respondents immediately recognized the point of my query, but seemed to believe that the relationship is simply too distant to matter. One acquaintance, a Dāhimā Brahman journalist, responded that King Māndhātā gave the twelve sages (I think he meant the 144 sages) Kṣatriya wives, but it is not clear how this would make any difference because the progeny of the sages would still be agnatic kin.[10] This is clearly not a matter to which Dāhimā Brahmans give much if any thought—or if they do, it is socially repressed. The dilemma is probably intractable; if you wish to trace your descent as a caste to one individual, than you must avert your eyes from the issue of incest. So important, it seems, is the contention of common descent from Dadhīci that it trumps everything else, including this problem.

Another key element in the tale is the image of a group being created by means of a ritual transformation. The ritual that plays this role is Māndhātā's sacrifice, and this exemplifies a general Indic association between the sacrifice and creative power, a pattern we shall see again.[11] Why is a transformation needed? It is because although Dadhīci's progeny are indisputably Brahmans, they are not yet a Brahman caste. Their position is actually liminal, somewhere on the boundary of the social order, for the text describes them as hermit sage/priests, living in the "deep forest" (*Purāṇa* 22.14). Such sages can have wives, but are never quite householders.[12] The ambiguity of their status is illustrated by Dadhīci's relationship with his wife. It is true he is married, but as a renouncer he cannot physically and socially reproduce himself in the normal way; thus, the semen on the cloth and all the rest.[13] There is a profound dissonance between the world-renouncing, forest-dwelling manner of life of sages and the requirements of fully socialized domesticity.

When Pipplād's grandsons participate in the sacrifice, they enter the social order; in effect, for them the sacrifice is a rite of incorporation (Van Gennep 1960). They do so in the classic role of Brahman priests serving a Kṣatriya patron, and his payment to them, taking the form of wives and land, cements the deal; now they are family men with property. The most significant gift is not the wives; after all, sages do have wives, although the nature of sages' sexuality is always an issue. More crucial is Māndhātā's gift of land, for this not only cements the Brahmans to the territorial order of the state, but shifts the focus of their identity from common Brahman descent, as such, to that of a bundle of

related but distinct patrilineages. The text's suggestion that the Brahmans are domesticated by means of grants of land is consonant with the fact that actually existing lineages of the caste are identified with the villages from which most of them take their names.

A third essential element in the story is the goddess. This exemplifies a widespread myth-model in which goddesses provide crucial assistance at the birth of social groups with which they then maintain permanent ties. Lindsey Harlan (1992) has described the pattern well in connection with Rājpūt clans, but it can be found in many other contexts. In the Dāhimā case, we see that the goddess comes to the aid of the caste's ancestors-to-be by guaranteeing the efficacy of Māndhātā's sacrifice; this, in turn, produces the gifts with their consequences. She then binds herself to the group (and the group to her) by a pledge of perpetual protection.[14] When Dāhimā Brahmans come to the Dadhimatī temple they are reconnecting themselves to these events and thus reactivating the goddess's ancient pledge.

What sort of temporal framework provides the background of these events? Let us begin with the obvious, namely that cyclical time is present in the tale but hardly central to it. Its sole appearance is at the beginning of the story with the emergence of Brahmā from the reclining Viṣṇu, an event that is cosmically recurrent. This is not an incidental detail, for it has the function (I suggest) of connecting the entire narrative to a transcendental reality, thus investing it with a sort of cosmic significance. Cyclical time is therefore a very important context for the story, but a context that lies at its far periphery.

Social time, not transcendental time, is the true timescape of this narrative. Its format is genealogical, and thus its directionality is linear; where it ends is different from where it began, and the present is a consequence of the past. Nothing, however, is said of actual dates, and from the standpoint of a strictly metrical historical sense, the story has no temporal framework at all. Māndhātā's sacrifice seems to have occurred in the *satyug*, but this is less a matter of dating than a way of dramatizing the deep antiquity of the event.[15] And that antiquity is social antiquity, having less to do with measurement than with the Dāhimā Brahmans' desire to establish a Brahman pedigree extending back to the beginning of the present creation.

The narrative accounts for three levels of social segmentation: Brahmanhood in the widest sense, the Dāhimā Brahman caste, and the caste's constituent patriclans. These segmentations are differentiated in relation to a genealogical sequence. Brahmanhood itself takes the lineage back to Atharvā and the creator deity Brahmā. The text implies that Atharvā is one of the mind-born sons of Brahmā, and Brahman tradition proclaims these sage-sons to have been the progenitors of various Brahman lineages (*gotras*). The text then defines the Dāhimā Brahmans as a particular *kind* of Brahmans whose identity is defined by common descent from the sage Dadhīci, their own apical ancestor. Finally, the text distinguishes the constituent patriclans of the Dāhimā Brahman caste, called *śākhās* (branches), whose apical ancestors are Dadhīci's grandsons. The group's differentiation into intermarrying descent groups completes the origin of the caste as such, and it is precisely at this moment that the goddess Dadhimatī and her temple (or at least the

sacrificial pit) come into the picture as embodiments (one metaphysical, the other physical) of the social identity of the Dāhimā Brahmans.

As we know, the production of the patriclans from Dadhīci was a three-step process: first one (Pipplād), then twelve, then 144.[16] Why the differentiation occurred in this way is not entirely clear, but it seems possible that Pipplād is inserted in the sequence in order to avoid having to explain how superascetic Dadhīci could have multiple offspring. We have seen that he had problems enough producing one. The subsequent squaring of twelve represents the inflationary epoch of the tale; one becomes many in a mere (social) instant, allowing the caste to become completely formed within a scant five generations of the creation of the world.

It should be noted that, apart from the patriclans, the Dāhimā Brahman caste is also divided into twelve supposedly exogamous units called *gotra*s that trace descent from Pipplād's twelve sage-sons. The pattern for this is an ancient Brahmanical tradition of tracing patrilineages (called *gotra*s) to founder sages, for which the seven sages (listed variantly) are the prototypes (see Mitchiner 1982).[17] In the Dāhimā case, however, this is a pseudo-segmentation, for although the *gotra*s are listed in the caste's literature and are known to some respondents, they do not actually regulate marriage or anything else. I suspect, in fact, that most Dāhimā Brahmans do not clearly understand the difference between the *gotra*s and the *śākhā*s. Some say the *gotra*s were once exogamous but have lately fallen into disuse, but I know of no evidence to support this contention. I suspect that they were tacked on to an already established system of patriclans in an effort to make the entire system seem more Brahmanical.

Because the formative moments of the Dāhimā Brahman caste are pushed back into the deepest antiquity that can be imagined, the temporal foreground between those long gone days and the present is largely undifferentiated. It is a hazy middle ground, offering no particular temporal landmarks in relation to which other events might be dated. This explains an interesting phenomenon. An inscription dated VS 1908 (1851 CE) describes how the King of Udaipur financed the then just completed creation of the temple's current courtyards at the behest of a trusted Dāhimā Brahman advisor named Viṣṇudās. Many Dāhimā Brahmans subsequently came to believe that the King of Udaipur was in fact the builder of the temple.[18] Indeed, one highly educated respondent, a man very well versed in caste affairs, informed me that a certain king Māndhātā "of Udaipur" sponsored a sacrifice at the site of the temple. But from the standpoint of the socially relevant events, it matters little which king built the temple. If the event in question passes beyond the horizon of the present, then it is likely to end up in the remotest past, and Māndhātā and the King of Udaipur merge into a kind of anyking at the beginning of social time.

Hybrid Antiquity: Osian

We now move to a somewhat more complicated case, that of the Mahāvīra and Sacciyā Mātā temples of Osian. Here, as before, our temples are linked with an account of a caste's origin, in this case the Osvāl caste (see also chapters one and eight of this volume). Also as

before, the master metaphor is genealogical, but it is employed in a more extended sense and against the background of a more differentiated timescape. A big difference is that in this case social and metrical time are entangled with each other. The religious context is also very different, for the Osvāls are mostly Jains, and their origin story reflects that fact. Monks belonging to a Jain ascetic lineage known as the Upkeś Gacch (now nearly defunct) appear to have been the primary transmitters of the version summarized here.[19] What follows is based on a historically recent retelling of this version published early in the twentieth century (1929) by a distinguished monk named Jñānsundar who was the last-but-one fully initiated monk of this lineage. Of Osvāl origin himself, he was a tireless promoter of Osian and the Osvāl caste.

Osvāls

Jñānsundar's account of the origin of the Osvāls (this portion summarized from his Ch. 3) is, as is our Dāhimā narrative, organized around a genealogy. In this case, however, the descent in question is disciplic, not patrilineal. The tale begins with the inception of an ascetic lineage issuing from Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara and Māhavīra's predecessor. This is the Upkeś Gacch, which Jñānsundar refers to as Pārśvanātha's "progeny" (*santān*). He traces lineage succession from Ācārya Śubhdatt (one of Pārśvanātha's *gaṇadhar*s), to Haridattsūri, Āryyasamudrasūri, Keśīśramaṇācārya (who lived during the period of Mahāvīra), and finally Svayamprabhsūri, Pārśvanātha's fifth successor. Except for the reference to Mahāvīra's period, the narrative is dateless.[20]

Although all these *ācārya*s are represented as great proselytizers of Jainism, identifiable convert-castes enter the picture only when we get to Svayamprabhsūri. Once when he was at Mount Abu with his followers he met some businessmen from Shrimal City (subsequently known as Bhinmal). They told him that hundreds of thousands of innocent animals were being killed in sacrifices there—a horrendous state of affairs to Jains—and invited him to the city. He arrived at a time when preparations were being made for a great sacrifice. When his disciples entered the city in search of alms and saw how matters stood, they returned empty-handed, saying that the city was an unfit source of food for Jain ascetics. Svayamprabhsūri thereupon gave a sermon that convinced Jaysen, the king of Shrimal, and his subjects to release the animals and become Jains, and their descendants became the Śrīmālī caste. Then came news that a similar sacrifice was about to be held at Padmavati (a city near Abu). Svayamprabhsūri went there with the same result, thereby creating the Porvāl caste.

Ratnaprabhsūri, Svayamprabhsūri's successor, was the creator of the Osvāl caste. He came on the scene in the following fashion. One time when Svayamprabhsūri was giving a sermon to the goddesses Cakreśvarī, Ambikā, Padmāvati, and Siddhāyikā, a wizard by the name of Ratnacūḍ was flying overhead. His celestial vehicle came to an abrupt stop over the great monk's head. Then, in order to pay proper respect, Ratnacūḍ descended and listened to Svayamprabhsūri's discourse, after which he requested and received initiation. Later, in the fifty-second year after Mahāvīra's liberation, he became an *ācārya*

himself—thus acquiring the name Ratnaprabhsūri—and ultimately succeeded Svayamprabhsūri as head of the ascetic lineage.

Now, in the meantime, important events had occurred at Shrimal City. One of Jaysen's sons, Bhīmsen, had become king; he was a non-Jain, and all the Jains had left the city in order to escape persecution. Bhīmsen had two sons, one of whom was named Upaldev. Because of a quarrel with his elder brother, Upaldev left the kingdom; his companion was Uhaṛ (the Ūhaḍa of chapter one), the younger brother of Bhīmsen's minister. After many a twist and turn, they found their way to a spot north of Mandor in present-day Rajasthan where they founded the town known as Osian today.[21] In time, large numbers of people from Shrimal City followed the prince to settle there, and it became a large and flourishing city.

In the four-hundredth year before the start of the Vikram era, and at the urging of the goddess Cakreśvarī, Ratnaprabhsūri journeyed to Osian with 500 disciples. The monks made camp on the hill known as Luṇādrī (a short distance from the present day Sacciyā temple). There they completed a month-long fast, at the end of which a few of them went into the town in search of food. The inhabitants of the town were meat-eaters, drinkers of alcohol, and devotees of the ferocious goddess Cāmuṇḍā. As a result, there was no food suitable for Jain monks available, and Ratnaprabhsūri decided to move on. But Cāmuṇḍā was quite distressed when she heard about their impending departure, for it would be disgraceful not to receive with proper hospitality a distinguished monk sent by Cakreśvarī. She therefore asked him to remain for the rainy season retreat, saying that his stay would be highly beneficial. He did so with thirty-five of his hardiest disciples.

Then one night a snake bit King Upaldev's daughter's husband (in fact the son of Uhaṛ, now Upaldev's minister) as he was sleeping. He appeared to be dead, but when the king and his subjects were carrying the body to the burning grounds, they were accosted by a Jain monk—the goddess Cāmuṇḍā in disguise—who asked why they were about to burn a living person. The monk thereupon vanished, but the people then remembered that there had been a group of monks on the hill outside the city, so they all went there with the body. There the boy was brought back to life by means of Ratnaprabhsūri's footwashings. As a result of this miracle, Upaldev and the others agreed to become Jains. Using sanctified powder (*vāskṣep*) supplied by Cakreśvarī herself, Ratnaprabhsūri initiated the king, his minister and others as lay Jains. Rājpūts, but also Brahmans and Vaiśyas, were converted, all coming together in a single "Mahājan Saṅgh." This group much later became known as the Osvāl caste.[22]

At the time of the conversion, Minister Uhaṛ had been in the midst of building a temple for the god Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu). But whatever he built each day would fall that night. The problem was finally solved when he changed his project into a temple for Mahāvīra in mid-construction, and this is the Mahāvīra temple in Osian today. The image of Mahāvīra was fashioned underground from sand and milk by the goddess Cāmuṇḍā herself. Unfortunately, the eager new Jains unearthed the image before it was fully formed, with the result that there were two lemon-shaped, knot-like flaws on its chest.[23]

Despite her central role in these events, Cāmuṇḍā was left in the lurch. She had been present at, and was much pleased by, the conversions to Jainism. At that time, however, she had asked Ratnaprabhsūri if the conversions meant that she would have to give up her beloved animal sacrifice, and his answer was ambiguous. The people became very anxious as the date of the autumn *navrātrī* came near. This is a festival at which Cāmuṇḍā would expect animal sacrifices, which as Jains they would be unable to provide. In the end, Ratnaprabhsūri intervened, with the result that Cāmuṇḍā gave up meat and liquor, accepted vegetarian offerings, and became a proper Jain goddess (Plate 31).[24] Ratnaprabhsūri renamed her Saccikā Devī (Sacciyā) because she had spoken truthfully when she told him that a rainy season stay in Osian would prove beneficial. For her part, Cāmuṇḍā promised to protect her devotees in the town (by implication the inhabitants at that time and their descendants) who worship the image of Mahāvīra in Osian's Mahāvīra temple and who serve Ratnaprabhsūri and his descendants (by which she meant the Upkeś Gacch). She also became the protective goddess of the Mahāvīra temple.

These events culminated in the consecration of the Mahāvīra temple. As it happens, the 465 monks who had not stayed with Ratnaprabhsūri at Osian had gone to the town called Korantpur for their rainy season retreat. The people there (whom Svayamprabhsūri had originally converted) had also built a Mahāvīra temple, and its consecration had been set for the same day as that of the Osian temple. Because he was a wizard, Ratnaprabhsūri was able to preside bilocationally at both consecrations, which occurred in the year Vīr 70. He had done so, however, in his *nij* (true) form only in Osian, and when the people of Korantpur came to know of this they were quite angry. In their pique they conferred *ācārya* status on one of the monks who had spent the rainy season retreat with them, and this was the origin of the division between the Upkeś Gacch and the Koraṇṭ Gacch.[25]

Later, King Upaldev built a Pārśvanātha temple. According to Jñānsundar, this same temple is currently Osian's Sacciyā temple. He believes (ibid.:91, f.n.) that the temple's principal goddess image was originally located in a shrine outside the main temple and was put in Pārśvanātha's place after the Jains had begun to abandon the town (below). Jñānsundar probably feels he needs to make this point because it would seem odd indeed for a Pārśvanātha temple never to have been built in a place to the history of which the Upkeś Gacch is so important.[26]

There is an important sequel to the conversion story (given in ibid.: Ch. 5; see also chapter 1 of this volume). In Jñānsundar's narrative, the thread that connects this sequel to the occurrences just described is a line of disciplic succession, for the context in which the story is given is an account of the career of the Pārśvanātha's thirteenth successor, an *ācārya* named Kakksūri. In Vīr 373 (that is, 303 years after the original consecration), some young men of the town were doing *pūjā* in the Mahāvīra temple when they noticed the flaws on the image's chest. They foolishly had them chiseled off. The goddess was infuriated, and blood immediately began to flow from the image. Word of this was sent to Kakksūri, then at Girnar, and when he arrived he began a fast. On the night of the fast's last day, the goddess appeared and explained what had happened, adding that the "*jāti*" would

be destroyed as a result of the outrage. The *ācārya* was able to mollify her, and in the end she agreed to end the disturbance, but said that a special rite, a *śāntipūjā* (a peace-inducing rite), would be required.

At this point there occurs an extremely interesting interlude (ibid.:99–102). Noting that there are many different kinds of *śāntipūjā*s, Kakksūri asked the goddess of what sort it should be. He added that it should use locally available materials. The goddess responded by saying that he, Kakksūri, could use only *vāskṣep* powder to bestow peace, but that this rite should be one in which others (meaning laypersons) could take part. The great ascetic replied that it would be inappropriate for him to teach any such new rite without support from the scriptures, and thereupon sent her to Mahāvideh Kṣetra to obtain instructions from Sīmandhar Svāmī.[27] This she did. It was a bathing rite, and the text includes instructions for its performance. Under Kakksūri's supervision, the lay participants were arranged by their patriclans (*gotra*s), of which there were eighteen; nine were stationed to the image's left and nine to the right. When the rite was performed the flow of blood stopped. The text then lists the attending patriclans.

Other versions of the Osvāl story, including those told by the Sacciyā temple's *pujārī*s as well as the *Upakeśa Gaccha Paṭṭāvalī* (Hoernle 1890:239), maintain that the Osvāls ultimately had to leave the town as a result of the goddess's curse. The *pujārī*s have a clear interest in promoting such an idea, for its effect would be to keep meddlesome Osvāls at a distance, and they may well be the main transmitters of the diaspora story. By contrast, Jñānsundar, who wanted to promote Osian as an Osvāl center, rejects the diaspora story as baseless (ibid.:102–03f.n.).[28]

Two Histories Compared

The Osian narrative clearly belongs to the same genre as the Dāhimā Brahman story. In neither case are we dealing with histories of temples as such; rather, both are histories of social groups that have the temples as physical foci. In a sense, the sheer existence of the temples and their obvious antiquity are visible testimonials to the truth of the narratives; in a reflex of this, the antiquity of the temples is defined in social-temporal terms. The basic elements of the Dāhimā and Osvāl narratives are also the same: genealogy, rites of sacrifice, a goddess. The way these elements are treated in the Osvāl case, however, reflects a distinctively Jain point of view.

Let us begin with genealogy. There is a striking contrast in the way the two stories begin. The Dāhimā story starts with Brahmā, who is the point of origination of a line of patrilineal descent that connects the moment of creation to the present day. Pārśvanātha plays a similar role in the Osvāl story. He does not create the world (for the Jains possess no such concept), but he originates a line of descent that provides the spine of the subsequent story. The difference is that this line of descent is disciplic, not patrilineal. His teachings become a kind of spiritual seed equivalent to the more purely physical continuity established by the Dāhimā Brahmans' descent. It was also from this seed that the Osvāl clans, which in our narrative are portrayed as lay offshoots of an ascetic lineage, were produced.[29]

There is a sense in which it is impossible to transmit Jain identity purely by means of patrilineal descent. Brahmanhood is different; to borrow Marriott's phrasing (1976), Brahmanhood is in essence a biomoral quality that is transmitted from the very beginning of things by means of physical reproduction. In contrast, no Jains emerge at the moment of creation. For the Jains there was no such moment, but in any case Jains are cultural, not natural, creations. That is, for Jains to exist, someone must be "converted," a process begun by self-enlightened Tīrthaṅkaras who introduce Jain teachings into the flow of time. These teachings are not transmitted by physical descent, but through the teacher-disciple tie. Membership in an ascetic lineage, conferred by initiation, is the behavioral marker of adherence to such teachings for ascetics. A Jain laity, in turn, consists of those who manifest reverence for Jain ascetics, or a particular lineage of ascetics, who transmit Jain teachings.

Thus, there is necessarily a deep social discontinuity in the Osvāl story. The Dāhimā Brahmans were Brahmans at first and always. The Osvāls, by contrast, were warlike Rājpūts before they become nonviolent Jains, and their transformation was therefore truly fundamental. In a sense, they have no past—or perhaps a minimal past—outside of Jainism. Having become Jains, their significant past becomes that of Jainism and the ascetic lineages through which Jain teachings are socially transmitted and reproduced.

The radicality of the change is expressed in the way the sacrificial metaphor is employed. For the Dāhimā Brahmans, the sacrifice plays a ritually inclusive role. Their story is an account of how a preexisting identity, that of Brahmanhood, is fully realized socially when sages are given wives, property, and a social function (that of royal priests, which is to say, an institutionalized position in the sacrifice) in exchange for a fruitful sacrifice. In the Osvāl story, the sacrifice plays the opposite role of ritual exclusion, propelling the group in question out of one social order and into another. The Dāhimā Brahmans maintain continuity with their original identity; the new Jains, in contrast, completely sever themselves from their past identity. Their ancestors were Rājpūts, sponsors of blood sacrifices. Because of their abhorrence of violence, Jains cannot sacrifice; therefore, when Rājpūts become Jains they must expunge their relationship with this rite and the Brahmans who perform it.

Jñānsundar presents non-violence as the principal reason for the Jains' break with the sacrifice, but an equally important reason is surely the need for a break with Brahmans. After all, one can sacrifice non-violently, as we see with the Dāhimā Brahmans. Brahmans must perform sacrifices in order to be Brahmans; vegetarian Brahmans must thus, perforce, believe in the possibility of vegetarian sacrifice. Osvāls must break with the social order for which the sacrifice is a dominating metaphor; for them, therefore, a belief in the possibility of non-violent sacrifice is ruled out.

Their links with the past having been cut so completely, the Osvāls must then—in effect—exchange one set of ancestors for another. The Dāhimā Brahmans venerate the sage Dadhīci as their common ancestor, and in fact he is represented by an image in a side-shrine at the Dadhimatī temple (Plate 28). In contrast, no patrilineal ancestors from

pre-conversion days are objects of worship at Osian.[30] Rather, in the Osvāl case (or at least in our narrative) the pattern of venerating ancestral figures is shifted to the Tīrthaṅkara (technically Pārśvanātha but generically Mahāvīra) and his spiritual successors in the Upkeś Gacch.[31] As represented in the narrative, this is the true "ancestor cult" of the Osvāls.

An implication of these points is that a Jain caste is actually incapable of socially reproducing itself. The Osvāl caste is a social group like any other that, at the most basic level, reproduces itself physically and socially in the normal manner. But not all Osvāls are Jains, and "Jainness" is a non-biomoral quality that is transmitted in the form of teachings and initiation. These belong to the domain of ascetics. This suggests that even after the Osvāl caste is created, it becomes a sort of shadow of the ascetic lineage of which it is the offshoot, for without sustained contact with the ascetic lineage, the caste is not capable of transmitting its essence—as Jain Osvāls—to the next generation.

As in the Dāhimā Brahman case, a goddess is central to our Osvāl tale, but with a difference having mainly to do with the sacrifice. For the Dāhimā Brahmans, her relationship with the rite is positive, which is made possible, at least in part, by the Dāhimā Brahmans' belief that non-violent sacrifice is possible. For the Osvāls, her relationship with the rite is colored by the assumption that sacrifice is forever and always blood sacrifice. New Jains are created when sacrificers become non-sacrificers; in parallel with this, the goddess Cāmuṇḍā becomes a goddess suitable for Jains only when she no longer receives sacrifice.

This is deeply linked with that most ubiquitous of themes in Jain life: diet. The conversion process begins when Jain ascetics cannot find food. This leads to the transformation of Osian's Rājpūts into Jains, which in turn makes possible a sustainable commensal relationship between an ascetic lineage and a lay community. But now the tables are turned, for Cāmuṇḍā cannot be properly fed (i.e., with meat) by Jains. She, too, must undergo a transformation, a change of name and diet. She remains a clan goddess to her original worshipers, pledging her protection to them. But her primary relationship has shifted to Mahāvīra and the Mahāvīra temple (as evidenced by her fury over the desecration), just as the new Jains themselves have relinquished a Rājpūt past for a totally new kind of pedigree.

As a clan goddess of Rājpūts, Cāmuṇḍā participates in their nature as a warrior community. The vegetarianization of this community occupies the same ritual-logical niche as a rite of separation, severing them from their previous condition. But until Cāmuṇḍā's nature is changed, the transformation is incomplete, leaving the community in a liminal state. Seen against this background, the establishment of the community's new ritual relationship with the goddess, based on vegetarian offerings, becomes the functional equivalent of a rite of incorporation.

The social timescapes of our two narratives are similar, but with interesting differences. Both accounts reach backward to connect with cyclical time—the Dāhimā Brahmans to Brahmā, the Osvāls to Pārśvanātha. Although Pārśvanātha's individual

biography situates him in the stream of social time, he is eternally recurrent in the sense that his Tīrthaṅkara career is, in its most significant essentials, exactly the same as that of any and all Tīrthaṅkaras. Like Brahmā, he is a genealogical uncaused cause, not because he creates the world, but for the simple reason that he is spiritually autonomous and without a teacher. The twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras of each cosmic half-cycle are a mere series, not a lineage. He thus embodies a reality beyond history, but one that is brought into the stream of history by his individual persona, and then preserved within the flow of historical time by means of disciplic succession.

Once launched in the stream of time, this spiritual lineage produces segments, both mendicant and lay, and these moments of subcreation are the main temporal markers of the Osvāl narrative. The relative complexity of the segmentation results in a somewhat more complex social timescape than we see in the Dāhimā Brahman case. There are three principal lay offshoots, the Śrīmālīs, Porvāls, and Osvāls. Using a modified idiom of segmentary descent—i.e., one in which patrilineal descent is grafted on to its disciplic parallel—Jñānsundar's account registers the fact that all three castes, though different, are quite similar in their social customs and adherence to Śvetāmbar Jainism. By assigning a separate creator-*ācārya* to the Osvāls, the narrative adds additional social distance between the Osvāls and the other two castes (who in any case figure marginally in the story).

But why trace descent to Pārśvanātha in particular? As far as I am aware, all other Śvetāmbar ascetic lineages treat Mahāvīra as their apical ancestor. This being so, it seems possible that tracing descent to the earlier Pārśvanātha had the purpose of differentiating the Upkeś Gacch from other ascetic lineages in a decisive way, perhaps in the context of rivalry with other Gacchs for the allegiance of lay Jains. The date assigned to the creation of the Osvāls is a crucial consideration, and this is a matter to which Jñānsundar gives careful attention (ibid:Ch. 4, 1–40). He considers three alternatives—Vīr 70, VS 222 and the tenth century of the Vikram era (the latter the most plausible by the standards of modern historians). As we know, he favors the Vīr 70 date, which seems to be the general Upkeś Gacch preference.[32] This date would render implausible any claim by another Gacch to have converted the Osvāls; that is, it creates the temporal depth required for the Upkeś Gacch to lay exclusive claim to the Osvāl caste as a lay segment.

The later mutilation of the image is a puzzling aspect of the tale. The story seems to struggle with the ostensibly outrageous idea that the goddess herself is somehow embodied in Mahāvīra's image. She was the source of the milk from which the image was partly made (dropped from a cow on the spot). The two flaws on the image's chest reiterate the milk/breast theme, which is further reinforced by the blood (or, in one telling, a mixture of blood and milk[33]) that issues from the flaw (or flaws) when the desecration occurs. It is as if she herself were the victim of the foolish mutilation. But whatever its symbolism, the episode represents a rebirth or second birth of the Osvāl caste complete with a transformative ritual (the *pūjā*) and an *ācārya* who tames the goddess.

Just why there should be a revisiting of this idea, a whiff of "eternal return" in the midst of a linear narrative, is unclear. Of course for those who believe in the goddess's permanent curse (not Jñānsundar), the second creation explains the Osvāl diaspora, but this could be done without a separate creation. Perhaps the two creations are a simple artifact of the Upkeś Gacch disciplic genealogy. Kakksūri might have been a central figure in some different Upkeś Gacch tale of Osvāl creation, a story that would naturally enter the main narrative at a time corresponding to Kakksūri's position in the genealogy. But the second creation might also be compelled by ritual logic. While the converted Rājpūts of Osian worked out a proper ritual relationship with the goddess at the time of their original conversion, they had apparently not yet established an equivalent ritual relationship with the Tīrthaṅkara. Or at least this is suggested by the fact that, although the Mahāvīra image was clearly in worship at the time of the mutilation, Kakksūri and the goddess nonetheless had no clue at all about what a lay ritual to quell the disturbance should actually be until they consulted Sīmandhar Svāmī. This slight vestige of liminality in the Osvāls' status is finally resolved by the *pūjā*, an occasion in which they emerge for the first time as a completely formed caste, subdivided into named exogamous patriclans.

Commensurablity

Thus far our concern has been solely with group histories and their social-temporal frameworks. Recently, however, something new has entered the situation: a rapidly thickening layer of modern historical interpretation. This is constructed against the metrical timescape that is at the foundation of modern historical study and that posits a very different kind of antiquity for the temples, one that is less a reflex of social structures and more a response to imperatives of measurement for its own sake. What this development portends for future understandings of these temples and the caste histories with which they are associated cannot yet be said. Still, some interesting developments need to be noted.

Basic to this whole issue is the question of commensurablity. Systems of time reckoning are not necessarily commensurable at all. For example, typical Indic constructions of cyclical time are incommensurable with most linear schemes[34] to the extent that it is possible for cyclical and linear timelines to overlap without conflicting with each other. That is, just as it is possible for a geometrician to ignore the earth's curvature when working with small figures, linear time can be part of a cycle and yet retain its linearity, so long as the cycle is very long. The temporal cycles of the Indic world are long indeed.[35] But the matter is very different with regard to metrical and social time, which are now on a potential collision course. As long as social time remains entirely relative—that is, entirely sequestered within a narrative that never includes a date relevant to any other group—it can be serenely indifferent to potential historical disconfirmations. But in our era this is increasingly difficult to do.

In the case of the Dadhimatī temple, metrical time intruded into the situation with the discovery of an inscription bearing a date of Gupta Saṃvat 289 (608 CE) that appears to associate Dāhimā Brahmans with the temple at that date. This, however, does not seem to

challenge traditional history in any significant way, which is probably because the metrical date falls more or less in the featureless middle ground of Dāhimā Brahman social time where it contradicts nothing of importance. In fact, it has been folded into caste-historical materials (such as Jagatnārāyaṇ Jośī n.d.) with enthusiasm, probably because it demonstrates a respectable metrical antiquity for Brahman association with the temple, a useful fact in arguing for Dāhimā proprietorship over the temple in modern courtrooms (see chapter seven of this volume).

The situation at Osian is more complex, for here social and metrical timescapes have already had to interact for a considerable period of time (speaking metrically). As an example, the Upkeś Gacch/Osvāl genealogy has had to take into account the metrical dating of Mahāvīra's career on earth. As noted, the Upkeś Gacch narrative appears to have made constructive use of this metrical (and thus universal) temporal landmark in its effort to establish its own exclusive claim to the creation of the Osvāl caste. And in any case, given the metrically dated landmarks of Jain history, it is hard to see how any history of a Jain community could be totally enveloped in social time. But having conceded the necessity of metrical landmarks, Jñānsundar seems to have tried to re-relativize Osvāl history. He did so by introducing the concept of a new dating system, *Osvāl samvat*, for which the zero date was Vīr 70, which he regarded as the date of Osvāl origin. He used this dating system on many of his publications, but it never caught on.

More recently the problem of reconciliation has become less tractable. Jñānsundar, for example, attempted with might and main to refute the historians who opt for a tenth or eleventh-century dating for Osvāl origins (1929:Ch. 4, 1–40), but the strength of his conviction was offset by the total lack of plausibility of the date he preferred, which was the much earlier Vīr 70. And of course his placing of the Sacciyā and Mahāvīra temples in this period is simply preposterous by standards that, willy-nilly, have come to prevail among educated people. If nothing else, Jñānsundar's struggles illustrate the fact that once social time is de-relativized, it becomes fair game for modern historical and/or art historical challenge.

But the sky has not fallen at Osian. Rather, the modern timescape appears to have been absorbed and coopted in a new and highly creative reaction to the confrontation between old and new. While the Sacciyā temple continues to function as a goddess temple for both Osvāl and non-Osvāl constituencies (prospering greatly in this role), the Mahāvīra temple has become the focus of a shifting frame of reference. It has become the object of extensive renovation and preservation activities of a major Śvetāmbar Jain trust. This, in turn, is linked with a view of the temple in which the Osvāl *caste* has receded from the picture while the image of a wider and socially more encompassing *Śvetāmbar Jain* community has moved to the foreground. Exemplary of this outlook is Dhaky's (1968) analysis of this and other temples in which scrupulous metric dating lies at the foundation of a warm (and scholarly) appreciation of Śvetāmbar tradition. The trend is obviously in the direction of the universal. The Śvetāmbar community's current engagement with the temple projects a definition of the community as a group worthy of the custodianship of a

great cultural treasure. This mildest of parochialisms points beyond itself, for the value of that treasure is, finally, not merely social—at any level—but civilizational and human.

Notes

1. Social time can be cyclical. An example is the Nuer use of their age-set system as a frame of reference for the dating of some events.
2. It should be understood that I am concentrating on one version of the origin story here, and that other versions exist, both folk and printed. My summary is drawn from the Hindi translation; it is a partial plot summary and excludes a number of details.
3. The *Purāṇa* puts the emphasis on Dadhīci's ascetic powers. Other versions, however, tell of how the gods had left their divine weapons with Dadhīci for safekeeping; he absorbed the weapons' power in his bones, and then discarded them (see, e.g., Jośī n.d.:8–9). In a variant the author and John Cort heard from a genealogist in Borunda village, Dadhīci used a *vajra* (apparently gotten from Śiva) to grind his *bhāṅg*; over a five-thousand-year period the weapon had worn down and the resulting particles had entered the sage's bones.
4. Tradition proclaims (though not the *Purāṇa*) that the gods brought the Kāmdhenu cow to lick off his flesh; apparently only the cow could absorb the sin of Brahmanicide. This episode is represented in a frequently reproduced picture of the sage (Plate 28).
5. Their names: Vṛhadvats, Gautam, Bhārgav, Bhāradvāj, Kaucchas, Kaśyap, Śāṇḍilya, Mahābhāg Atri, Parāśar, Kapil, Garg, Laghuvats (elsewhere also known as Mam).
6. The text identifies Māndhātā as the son of a sun-line king named Yuvnāśva. Tod (1990:1629–630) describes a legendary Pramār king by this name who ruled from Dhar and Ujjain. Quite by chance, I came across a reference to a king named Māndhātā, son of a king Yunāśva, in a history of the Jāṭ caste (Vidyālaṅkār 1992:207); here he is said to be the apical ancestor of a Jāṭ patrilineage called Gaur. I suspect that he figures in the origin stories of other groups as well. There is also reference to a King Māndhātā in the *Mahābhārata* (Vana Parva 126.1–40) and in early Buddhist Sources.
7. In this respect the text resembles a *vrat kathā*.
8. Cort reports a version in which the temple bursts forth from the ground when Viṣṇudās (below) arrives on the scene.
9. Tradition proclaims that the descendants of one of Pipplād's sons, Laghuvats, became *mlecch* and left the Brahman fold. This is not reported in the *Purāṇa*. The number 144 is pure convention. On the basis of a comparison of several modern compilations, J. N. Asopa (1988:43–67) lists a total of 146 *śākhā*s (branches, or "surnames" as he calls them), most of which have been fitted into the *gotra* scheme (below) but many of which have not. He includes information on the villages after which they are named (e.g., village Pāṭodā for the Pāṭodyas). However, a survey of registrants at a marriage introduction convention (*Dadhimatī* 1994:10–24) reveals that only a dozen or so of the listed *śākhā*s occur commonly; the remainder are rare or possibly non-existent. I suspect that there has always been uncertainty about whether particular lineages are original *śākhā*s or segments of them, but that this became a problem only when efforts to systematize the clan and lineage system began early in this century. This topic is addressed in chapter nine of this volume. Despite the existence of published lists, I suspect the system remains somewhat open-ended to the present day.

10. When asked how Dāhimā Brahmans could be Brahmans in view of the fact that their ancestors had non-Brahman wives, he responded with the seed theory of descent in which descent is carried exclusively by the seed that is planted in the mother by the father.
11. See also Babb 1998a and 2004.
12. A status whose ambiguities are registered by the double character (hermits with wives) of the *vānaprastha āśrama* (Biardeau 1994).
13. Pipplād's story is similar. After 88 years of meditation (*smaraṇ*) with his wife, he divided his semen into twelve parts and put them into his wife's womb, then becoming passionless.
14. As it happens, Dadhīci himself had already done *tap*, at the suggestion of Śiva, in order to get her to become the *kul devī* of his progeny (*Purāṇa* 18.2–4).
15. There is, in fact, some ambiguity on the matter of dating. The *Purāṇa* places the Vikaṭāsur incident in the *satyug* (6.4), but I am unable to find any specific statement about the era of the sacrifice. This would not be an issue were it not for the fact that at least one source (Jośī n.d.:4) places the sacrifice in the *tretāyug*. This makes no chronological sense if the 144 presiding priests are, as the tale proclaims, Dadhīci's grandsons. The myth, with its many versions, is a jerrybuilt structure that shows various seams. The essential point about the dating of all of these incidents is that, in social time, they occur in deep antiquity.
16. Readers might wonder why Atharvā needs to be interposed between Brahmā and Dadhīci. The answer seems to be that Atharvā and Dadhīci are present as a pair in the Ṛg Veda, and thus cannot be severed from each other. Dadhīci is identified with Dadhyañc, who is the son of an Atharvan priest. He was given a horse-head through which he taught the Aśvins; Indra then severed this head, after which the Aśvins restored Dadhyañc's original head (see O'Flaherty 1981:183–85). This episode is also included in the *Purāṇa* (18.12–26). Interestingly, in the genealogical tree displayed at the Dadhimatī temple (and frequently reproduced in caste publications), Dadhyañc is interposed between Atharvā and Dadhīci. The tree's creator has clearly not gotten the message about the identity of this figure and Dadhīci (on which point see Asopa 1988:Ch. 2).
17. The *pravaras* represent an additional complication; they are sometimes listed with Dāhimā *gotras*.
18. This belief may have developed rapidly, for the text of a frequently reprinted *stuti* (O. Dādhīc 1996:12–14) composed in 1853 CE seems to credit the king with the building (as opposed to renovation) of the temple (see chapter seven of this volume). Dāhimā tradition also credits Viṣṇudās with a crucial role in the coming to the Mewar throne of this particular king (Svarūp Singh) (see Jośī n.d.:5; also S. R. Dādhīc n.d.:6).
19. As far as I am aware, the lineage is currently represented by a single *yati* (a type of ascetic whose vows are less onerous than those of full ascetics) who lives in Bikaner.
20. No dates are given for the above *ācāryas*, either here or on a succession chart provided on p. 95.
21. It was then known as Uespaṭṭan or Upkeśpur.
22. Most accounts of the creation of Jain castes stress their Rājpūt origin, and that is definitely an emphasis in Jñānsundar's writing. Nonetheless, he includes Brahmans and Vaiśyas as well. His intent, I surmise, is to stress the complete elimination of the *varṇa* system and the Brahmanical/sacrificial order with which it is associated. Elsewhere in the book (Ch. 4:34) he says that the Osvāls mostly come from "pure Kṣatriya *varṇa*." In the same chapter he also says that the Osvāl caste does not have any Śūdra ancestry. Also, he attributes the *vīrtā* (heroism, courage) of the Osvāls to their Rājpūt ancestry (Ch. 4:46). But he also wants to push the line that the conversion freed the converts from the bondage of caste and *varṇa*.

23. The Minister's cow was dropping milk on the spot below which the image was being formed, and the image was discovered when a herdsman followed the cow. Similar stories are widely known in connection with other images.
24. Non-Jains, however, have sacrificed animals at (or outside) this temple until—apparently—quite recently.
25. Later Ratnaprabhsūri went to Korantpur and a reconciliation took place.
26. The assertion that the Sacciyā temple was originally a Pārśvanātha temple is not present in Hoernle's (1890) translation of the *Upakeśa Gaccha Paṭṭāvalī*.
27. According to Jain teachings, no Tīrthaṅkaras are now present in our region of the cosmos. Sīmandhar Svāmī is a Tīrthaṅkara currently teaching in a mythical region called Mahāvideh Kṣetra (see Dundas 2002:305–06, n. 75).
28. To begin with, he says, the caste was known as Upkeśvaṃś in those days, not Osvāl, and the town was called Upkeśpur; in any case, rich merchants of the Upkeśvaṃś were living in Osian until the tenth to eleventh centuries (VS). Business declined when the "sea" (*samudra*) receded from the city, thus driving the business community elsewhere, and a famine in the fourth century (VS) also caused people to move out. But nowhere, he says, is there any mention of the people all leaving suddenly.
29. In this respect, the lay sublineage of Osvāls resembles somewhat the matrilaterally differentiated lineage segments of the Nuer. Sacciyā occupies the same structural position as the co-wife whose son's children become a new lineage segment.
30. There are, of course, doctrinal reasons for the Jain prohibition of the *śrāddh* (Jaini 1979:302-04). But one has to wonder if the prohibition might also reflect a shift of ancestry to disciplic lineages.
31. Ratnaprabhsūri is represented by a footprint image in a *dādābāṛī* (a shrine where deceased Jain ascetics of note are worshipped) on Luṇādrī Hill.
32. This is the date given by the *Upakeśa Gaccha Paṭṭāvalī*.
33. This was a version given by one of the Sacciyā temple's *pujārī*s to me in 1991.
34. At least in the form in which we have encountered them here. Modern scientific cosmology may represent another sort of challenge.
35. An exception is the historical cosmology of the Brahmā Kumārīs, and here problems of conflict do arise (Babb 1986:Ch. 5).

Part II

Structures

3

Building a Temple

MICHAEL W. MEISTER

Building a temple begins, not with construction but with finding a spot where sacrality exists. And no temple is ever finished—but exists and is tangible through the skin of its use. It is not a person but a lineage—ever a shape-shifter—renewed through time and its continual remaking. Such a process of restoration, reoccupation, and self-preservation of sacred sites we have been privileged to approach through this shared multi-disciplinary project.

As test (and taste) of this process of *jīrṇoddhār* (transformation, rebuilding), the four pilgrimage temples we studied in western Rajasthan have helped frame certain ongoing art-historical issues:

1. archaeological/art-historical reconstructions of phases of building and rebuilding are possible, but insufficient;
2. an historically framed continuity of reconstruction through time is impossible, but perhaps unnecessary;
3. the materiality of a temple and the sociology of its use must be combined to reclaim the process by which it exists in space and time.

Laws in modern India that govern a legal definition of a temple state the following (K. N. Shah 1997:93; HREC 1962:3):

> a temple is a place of worship where people congregate to approach an embodiment of the Supreme, to worship Him and offer prayers and gifts. Theoretically speaking, this can be done at any place and at any time, but temples provide . . . a special environment and traditional

> facilities for arousing a feeling of devotion. . . . Thus, temples may be described as *occult laboratories* where certain physical acts of adoration coupled with certain systematized prayers, psalms, mantras, and musical invocations, can yield certain physical and psychological results.

Khed, Raṇchoḍjī Temple

Of four temples we chose to study, the Raṇchoḍjī temple at Khed—a few miles west of Balotra—built first by the mid-ninth century, has a good possibility of once having had royal patronage (Meister 1991d:254–8; 2000b:24–5), yet its current condition suggests a somewhat constricted contemporary life (Plates 1–3). The Jain temple complex at Nakoda not far away flourishes with a continual rush of pilgrims because of its wish-granting Bherū (Vinayasāgar 1988). What we found at the much more ancient temple at Khed was a tentative, continuing, contemporary patronage (one group of visitors characterized the temple as an "Agravāl *sthāna*" or place of merchants) and limited ongoing daily life, with little evidence of multilayered use.[1] On the other hand, when I first visited it in the early 1970s, the lovely sculpted walls of the main sanctum were still carefully (and expensively) polychromed,[2] much as the pillars of the Mahāvīra Jain temple at Osian were in 1968. A generation apart, the Mahāvīra Jain and Raṇchoḍjī temples share a regional, open-balcony, circumambulatory plan (Plate 2) and both seem to have fallen largely out of use by the nineteenth century, maintained as active temples into the twentieth century by a handful of priests. The gate to the larger compound at Khed has an inscription with a date of VS 1993 (1935–6 CE), suggesting one period of semi-expanded use and reclamation early in the twentieth century.[3]

When we revisited the temple at Khed in 1997, recent patronage had ornamented the interior of the enclosed front hall (*gūḍha-maṇḍapa*)—first renovated in the eleventh century by the addition of four elaborately carved central pillars and a new ceiling—with elaborate glittering glass (Plate 1).[4] Over its long life the Khed temple has clearly been valued—its hall was reconfigured and a large new marble image installed in the sanctum in the eleventh century, its carved walls re-polychromed in the early twentieth century—but a contemporary purpose for worshiping this pre-*bhakti* form of Viṣṇu today, freed of its royal connections, has largely been forgotten.

Local individuals still cherish the site and its heritage; yet much recent attention and patronage has shifted to the construction of a new mirrored temple to Brahmā built nearby (the rarity of a Brahmā temple in modern India seen as one of its popular virtues).[5] Large annual festivals still occur, however, and a Temple Trust established in about 1976 has reconfigured the temple's outer compound and provided amenities that can be compared to those at other temples in this study (Plate 3). We were told that the Trust consisted of 20 or 21 elected members. Little printed material was available, save for painted signs with donors' lists, of which a majority were Agravāls and Māheśvarīs from Balotra.

This temple can act as an interesting control for our study. It is patronized locally by merchant castes, seemingly with little of the national draw of our other temples, although

there are some donors listed from Mumbai and elsewhere. According to Bhanwar Lal Vaishnav, temple trustee and author of a book on *Kheṛ Mandir* (Vaiṣṇav 1973), the Temple Trust has recently drawn up a twenty-year master plan (interview, 13 February 1998). "Plans so far are to move out the walls of the temple chowk, so one can see the main temple more clearly; to put in new flooring in the chowk; to build a meditation hall; and to build new *dharmśālā* facilities with attached bath and latrine."[6] As John Cort observed (notes 18/ii/98), "some in the trust are interested in raising the status and visibility of this temple; from a temple of purely local interest, they want to raise it to being a temple of some more regional interest." In Cort's words, the temple today still can demonstrate the many "opportunities for *jīrṇoddhār,*" which he has defined with precision as "the lifting up of the old to make it current and fit as the site of worship." The most compelling definition of Khed's current weakened position, however, was L. A. Babb's, that "there is no [current] crystallizing of identity around this temple."

Goth-Manglod, Dadhimatī Mātā Temple

Let me describe three other temples we have studied through fieldwork as examples of temples transformed over time—and in recent times—and perhaps as suggestive of methods for understanding them and their survival. The first—the Dadhimatī Mātā temple near Nagaur (Plate 4)—existed in the seventh century perhaps as no more than a sacred rock with a shelter—much like one now sacralized beside a road near Udaipur (Plate 5). We know from an inscription of Gupta Saṃvat 289 (608 CE), discovered late in the nineteenth century, of grants to this local goddess by a community of "Dadhya" (Dāhimā or Dādhīc?) Brahmans,[7] "meditating on the feet of Dadhimatī" and "protected by the feet of (the king)" according to the seventh-century inscription (Ram Karna 1911–2).[8]

In the ninth century, a stone Nāgara-style temple was built around this sacred rock, but clothed in the imagery of high Brahmanism—the Goddess (in the form of Mahiṣāsuramardinī) placed on the fronton of the *śikhara* and an eclectic array of images on the outer walls of the sanctum: celestial female attendants (*apsaras*es), Dikpāla guardians on the corners; Gaṇeśa (south), the beautiful goddess Kṣemaṅkarī (west) and Pārvatī performing penance (north) on the central projections (Meister 1991d:252–4; 1995e) (Plate 6). In the recessed necking underneath the tower (*śikhara*) are a clockwise set of Rāmāyana narratives starting from the south (Giri and Tiwari 1989).

For the ninth century, under Pratīhāra royal hegemony, these images and the Nāgara stone-temple structure itself proclaimed an established orthodoxy for local praxis, yet the image in the sanctum remained the aniconic stone, and the goddess Dadhimatī remained a local goddess, only stitched into the trans-regional ethos of the *Devī Māhātmya*, Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the *Purāṇa*s.

From the ninth to the nineteenth century we can reconstruct little of the life of this temple: only that many local communities—Brahman, Jāṭ, and Māheśvarī, even eventually Muslim—utilized the sacrality of the *sthāna*.[9] In the twelfth century there are records of *satī*s being performed within the temple's compound (Somani 1981; 1983:62,

78–9, 110).[10] In the mid-nineteenth century, however, the temple took on a new configuration: four courtyards (*cauk*s) were built around the stone structure. This was done under patronage from the Mahārāṇa of Udaipur, at the instance of the Dāhimā Brahmacārī, Viṣṇudās, with work carried out between 1849-51 (Plate 4).[11] A contemporary inscription records both this patronage and that the craftsman (*kārīgar*) was Pīrā Mālīthā of Nagaur (G. N. Śarmā 1915).

How these compounds (and myths) were woven into the identity of a twentieth-century community is a part of L. A. Babb's story of the Dāhimās in this volume. The discovery and publication of the seventh-century inscription, however, helped precipitate formation of an All-India Dāhimā Brāhmaṇa Mahāsabhā early in the twentieth century,[12] and a Temple Trust suitable to recent laws governing public trusts was first established in the 1970s. An additional large compound for pilgrims was added south of the four nineteenth-century *cauk*s by the Mahāsabhā, and the current Trust has drawn up plans for a much larger hostel (*dharmśālā*) to be built nearby (Plate 7).[13]

These *cauk*s now define the present temple. Rituals followed in worship no longer take into consideration the images on the stone sanctum's outer walls; but move from the image in the *cella* to an aniconic Bherū at the back (underneath the ignored Kṣemaṅkarī statue); then from the small Śiva shrine in the forward *cauk* to a Bherū in the outer *cauk*; and to a recent cella set up in the northwest corner of the temple's *cauk* with an image of the lineage originator, Dadhīci Ṛṣī (Plate 28).

In notes I took during Gupt Navarātrī, 2–3 February 1998, on the issue of how space is used in the present temple, I observed that while the sanctum with Dadhimatī Mātā herself centers the temple ritually, the expanded temple serves much as a house does, with all the flexibilities and layerings of use one finds in a pol, haveli, or palace. At the Dadhimatī Mātā temple, the back veranda was being used to prepare food; the court near the sanctum as the *bhojanśālā* (place for preparing food); the south veranda for administration, singing, and sleeping. In the *maṇḍapa*, the flow of people past the sanctum was in part controlled by a barrier, but a variety of approaches was possible—*darśan* from a distance, circumambulation within the *maṇḍapa* and around the temple, *pūjā* with a priest standing at the sanctum door, etcetera. Individual use of the *maṇḍapa* included recitation, meditation, and so forth. Group use included taking over the central aisle as a place for chants and singing. The deity could be moved outside of the sanctum to a bed in the hall for sleep; and the group of worshipers could be moved from the *maṇḍapa* to the space in front of the entry porch for a final ceremony and for distribution of *prasād* after the temple's sanctum was shut for the night.

Cort commented that this kind of multiple use of temple *cauk*s is changing, with much more segregation of functions at more highly populated centers such as Sacciyā Mātā temple or Sālasār Bālājī. This sort of timed flexibility, however, I think is characteristic of the temple's compound as it evolved in early modern India: Cosmic space = the *mūl prāsāda*; ritual space = the *maṇḍapa*; domestic space = a variety of *maṇḍapa*s and compounds at different times during the day; pilgrimage space = movement through the

*cauk*s, compound, and the surrounding land outside, including the *kapāl kuṇḍ* (see chapter five).

The historical roles of the Dāhimā Brahmacārī, Viṣṇudās, and the Mahārāṇa of Udaipur, Swarūp Singh, in the nineteenth century in making the temple's modern courtyards are conflated in pilgrims' books available at the temple with the myth of the temple's founding in a much much older period, still by the Mahārāṇa, but during the rule of the first (mythic) universal king, Māndhātā.[14]

In spite of this ever-receding historical horizon found in the present, we have been able to recover a reasonably fine-grained history of the reclaiming of this temple and its meanings in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, fascinating as a model for other transformations that we cannot now recover from a more distant past.

Osian, Temples and Step-well

The Sacciyā Mātā and Mahāvīra temples at Osian, however, provide overlapping and in part archaeologically recoverable histories, both in the distant past and recent present. The many monuments at Osian have been known since D. R. Bhandarkar visited them in 1906–7 and published his reports for the Archaeological Survey (Bhandarkar 1907:36–7; 1912) (Plate 8). Scattered across the desert, these are framed by two living shrines: the Mahāvīra Jain temple, the oldest structural Jain temple surviving in India, and the Sacciyā Mātā temple on the hill, dedicated to a local goddess who converted to Jain ways (Plate 9). The orientation of the site links another hillock, that known as Luṇādrī in the Osvāl myth of the goddess's conversion, on which a Jain sage is said to have settled seventy years after the death of Mahāvīra, leading (at least in this foundation myth) to the building of the Jain temple (Meister 1998; chapter one). This hillock has a small modern structure, a *dādābāṛī,* sheltering a plaque of a twelfth-century sage's footprints (Handa 1984:232) (Plates 28, 29).

Eighth-century Vaiṣṇava, Saura and Śaiva temples stretch from the Luṇādrī hill to the location of the Mahāvīra shrine and the Jain school established early in the twentieth century (Plates 10–12). The north-facing Mahāvīra Jain temple to the south is oriented at right angles to the east-west axis of the Vaiṣṇava temples. The Sacciyā Mātā hill to the left is oriented to the southwest as if in deference to the location of the Mahāvīra temple. In the catchment area between the Mahāvīra temple and the Sacciyā Mātā hill, a large tank and step-well, as part of a larger system to capture and retain water, was constructed late in the eighth century shortly after the original Sacciyā Mātā temple and the Mahāvīra temple had first been built (see chapter four Plates 13–16).[15]

Osian, Sacciyā Mātā Temple and Hill

One part of my research involved reconstruction of phases in the life of these temples, both in the distant and the recent past. I can compare, for example, the Sacciyā Mātā temple's compound as I saw it in 1972 to how one sees it today, transformed by its new festival and

ritual use and by new patronage (Plates 17–20, 32). The process of transformation, however, has been both longer and continual.

A small shrine to the northwest on the Sacciyā Mātā hill, for example, was a Vaiṣṇava shrine facing the entry to the hill in the eighth century. It was in ruins at the time of Bhandarkar's visit (Plate 8), and was remade into a practicing "Śrī Satya Nārāyaṇa" temple in the 1920s. Its archaeologically interesting entry pavilion (Meister 1991e:130) was dismantled in the 1970s, its pillars reused elsewhere in the compound. It has now been replaced by a new Sītā-Rāma shrine (Plate 21).

Another significant temple on the hill survives from the eighth century, the Sūrya temple set to the south of the Sacciyā Mātā temple's sanctum (Plate 8). This had partly collapsed at the time of Bhandarkar's visit and was rebuilt by the grandfathers of priests and workmen who are still active at the site today (Plate 11). Three more sub-shrines were added in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the principal shrine to the goddess was rebuilt by circa 1177 CE by a banker named Gayapāla, replacing an earlier eighth-century structure (Plate 21).

This pattern of replacement, reformulation, and rededication has been part of a process by which this temple has survived—from the eighth to the thirteenth, to the sixteenth, and into the twenty-first century. This was true for both the Sacciyā Mātā and Mahāvīra temples. The Sacciyā Mātā compound today is surrounded by nine newly if only partly constructed shrines for the nine Durgās. The hill is approached up a stairway sheltered by ten new stone gateways (*toraṇas*), built about thirty years ago and more recently adorned with aluminum ornaments (Plates 18, 21) (as Cort had concluded of the current condition of the Raṇchoḍjī temple at Khed, these demonstrate the "many opportunities for *jīrṇoddhār*"). Further *toraṇas* are still being added to define the terrace in front of the Sacciyā Mātā temple's older compound.

The idea for Nava-Durgā shrines had been formulated by the community of hereditary priests (Jugrāj *sevak*, the family of Jugrāj Śarmā, then head priest, who began pressing for renovation of the temple as early as 1959–60) before the present Sacciyā Mātā Temple Trust was established (interview, Makhanlal Varshney, 7 March 1998) (Plate 33). Jugrāj argued that to have all forms of Durgā available for worship at one place would make the temple unique in India. (When the Trust was set up in 1976, Jugrāj was made its Secretary.)

New laws governing temple management and ownership have led to substantial reformulation of the Sacciyā Mātā temple and its mission since the establishment of a Temple Trust. A rapidly developing interest in the healing powers of Sacciyā Mātā by a diaspora of non-image worshiping Osvāl Jains has to a degree eclipsed (or stands parallel to) management by local *pujārī*s and Māheśvarī shopkeepers. This diasporic community has poured large resources into the hands of the local ecumenically organized temple trust.[16] This new patronage has in part created a "new" temple, responsive to modern taste and pilgrimage, a "place" increasingly rediscovered by a Jain community dispersed through

India and now more able easily to come on holiday or pilgrimage (Meister 2000b) (Plate 32).

This, interestingly, was not the expected outcome of the transformation of management in the 1970s when, according to a past headmaster of the Jain School, "the [Sacciyā Mātā] temple was simply in the hands of the *pujārīs* until the Temple Trust was set up in 1976. . . . We made [them] fear that the temple would go to the Government unless we got it registered [as a Public Trust]" (interview, Makhanlal Varshney, 7 March 1998).

At the turn of the last century, the Sacciyā Mātā temple was much more self-contained (Plate 19). Bhandarkar (1907:36) was told that the goddess was then the tutelary deity primarily of "Sāṁkhaḷā Paramāras." Her priests lived in a set of rooms to the northeast, within the temple's fortress-like compound, probably configured in the late Mughal period, which Bhandarkar had not been able to document in his early sketch plan (Plate 8; compare Plate 19). The festival reach of the modern shrine has now reoriented the compound's austere facade, made new paths for large crowds to wend their way through on major occasions like the festival of Navrātrī, and, outside the earlier fort-like compound, has provided opportunities for clients to build facilities for pilgrims and additional shrines (Plates 18, 20).

Osian, Mahāvīra Temple

As a measure of the dimension of change in the twentieth century, we found one printed advertisement in the library of the Jain school from the second decade of the twentieth century urging temple-worshiping Jain pilgrims to take the opportunity to visit the newly refurbished Mahāvīra temple—as well as the goddess temple at Osian—now that the newly built narrow-gage rail line from Jodhpur to Pokaran, which had a stop at Osian, had made such a journey much less demanding for pilgrims. That the story of Osian, its temple, and the conversion of its goddess was known in the nineteenth century, however, is supported by an illustrated *paṭṭāvalī* now in a collection in Gujarat (but with a set of photographs kept by the Jain school) (Plate 30).

The Mahāvīra temple has also undergone numerous transformations, in the past as well as in the last thirty years (Plates 22–24). The temple had been left almost abandoned early in the nineteenth century, with no Jains living in Osian itself, and nearby Jain communities committed to Sthānakvāsī practices, i.e. not worshiping images in temples. Only the priests of the Sacciyā Mātā temple kept the Jain temple's compound alive (they still speak of the two structures forming one temple today), perhaps then as now serving other communities who come to honor the Bherū spirit located on the west exterior wall of the temple's sanctum.

The Mahāvīra temple was first built late in the eighth century, yet in 956 CE the compound was partly reformulated and rededicated, as reported in a long historical inscription once mounted in the rebuilt entry hall to the compound (Handa 1984:216–8). Several sub-shrines, gates, pillars, and a large ceiling for this entry hall (Plate 34) were contributed to the compound in subsequent centuries and the sanctum's superstructure was

replaced in the fifteenth century, suggesting a continual process of rebuilding and renewal over a long period (Dhaky 1968).

In 1878, Mohanlāl, a Jain mendicant wandering through Osian with his followers, discovered the Mahāvīra temple (he saw the spire while he was urinating on the desert according to one source) and urged neighboring Jains in Jodhpur and Phalodi to pay for its restoration and rededication. This period of *jīrṇoddhār* lasted from 1879 to 1894.

In 1915, Muni Ratnavijay came to Osian. Seeing that there was no Jain population there to care for the Mahāvīra temple, he suggested starting a Jain school, and requested Phulcand Guleccha of Jodhpur to raise funds to do this. The Śrī Vardhmān Jain Vidyālaya was inaugurated in Osian on July 17, 1915.[17]

Ratnavijay converted the Sthānakvāsī mendicant Jñānsundar to temple worship and requested him to direct the Jain school, help preserve the temple, and return a Jain population to Osian. Jñānsundar dedicated the rest of his life trying to reestablish a lineage of Jain sages from Osian (Plate 28). He died only in the 1950s (see Cort, chapter eight, this volume).

Modern Remakings

In the last thirty years, the Mahāvīra temple again has undergone reformulation, with funds from the Āṇandjī Kalyāṇjī Trust in Ahmedabad.[18] This post-1972 restoration has changed the Mahāvīra temple in significant ways. In order to accommodate activities of boys attending the Jain school, and a growing community of pilgrims and tourists coming in groups, the shallow open entry portico of the temple's *prāsāda* was substantially expanded, adding pillars taken from the compound's two-storied entry pavilion on the north (Plates 22–24). This had been built first in the eighth century, then reformulated in the tenth and twelfth and more recent centuries.

The two-storied entry pavilion (*valānaka*) of my earliest visits, however, no longer stands (Plates 22, 23), but has been replaced by a lower single-storied open entry-hall used now largely to welcome groups of tourists (Plate 24).[19] One part of my work has been to retrace the process of recent patronage and renovation, and to recover evidence of these transformations and their motivations.

Plans and sections before and after the renovations of the past thirty years show starkly the changes made to the compound and this entry hall (Plates 22–24). The compound has been expanded and a single-storied open entry placed at the same level as the courtyard, allowing groups to enter directly and the school boys to have a place to perform.[20] This hall no longer can provide, however, the intimate private eye-level view of the Mahāvīra image that the older two-storied pavilion once gave to small groups of devotees who sat within it (Plate 22).

Of this remaking of the compound's entry pavilion and reformulation of the temple's entry, the school master, Makhanlal Varshney (interview, 7 March 1998), said that they had decided to raise "the door from the outside" that led up to "the entry-hall inside the building"; to lower the floor-level to make it common; and that in order to do this they had

needed to re-set the dome, make a new gate from the outside, and make the half and full pillars taller by adding extensions at the base.[21]

The Jain temple today—much like the Dadhimatī Mātā temple and its *cauks*—can only be fully understood in relation to the Jain school attached to it, which, when it was built, doubled the temple's compound early in the twentieth century (Plate 10). That institution, established in 1915 and added to further over the years, even more radically has transformed the temple than previous revisions, redefining the orphaned shrine as part of a larger living community institution. The original school's cool courtyard now acts as an office and as a place for Jain pilgrims and ascetics to stay; new student dormitories and a government-supported school have recently been built nearby (Plate 12).

The Jain school itself has shifted several times into larger facilities, most recently to the Government-built buildings in the 1970s. These new buildings of the Government school (not precisely the same thing as the community-supported school before) have, however, helped re-establish and re-assert the ancient relationship of the Jain community and the Sacciyā Mātā temple, which is visually framed on axis and seized by the new school's courtyard (Plate 12). In part this assertion is the accidental product of old orientations embedded in the site; but in part it is ironic, given the recent great power of the Sacciyā Mātā Temple Trust.

There continues a standoff between the goddess and Mahāvīra, and between those Jains who worship in Jain temples and those who do not, yet visit the goddess for her miracle cures. I have written elsewhere (Meister 2000a:40) that "a temple is not simply a structure, of one period or even one community. It moves through time, collecting social lightning and resources. It must be repositioned constantly to survive. . . . Both temples and the communities they serve continually redefine their pasts and renegotiate the present."

The goddess Sacciyā Mātā resides above Osian today, still a mystery to multiple communities, her presence continually remade, reclaimed by new and diverse clientele. Sacrality at such sites survives, but its social settings change. Can archaeology learn from living temples? Can a sequence of monuments be fitted into a framework of changing use? The archaeological layering of a monument that once lived can better be understood, it seems to me, if one has also experienced living monuments and their changes.

This essay so far has been about buildings and my documentation of them, and how changes over time are carried out by individual people to suit multiple and diverse human uses (Plate 25). There is a further issue, however, that ties these institutions to the "lawyers and bureaucrats" of Cort's tale (chapter seven, this volume) of twentieth-century modernization, that of the nature of temple trusts. These temples—and the communities who have used and tried to manage them in the twentieth century—have been affected by the evolving laws, first of a colonial state, then of a new democratic nation. These need to become part of this discussion.

Trusting Temples

Early Hinduism focused on rites of sacrifice; temples to shelter images of deities began as instruments of cults. To patronize cult communities became a means to extend kingship; and through such royal and community patronage, temples gradually became public institutions. Arjun Appadurai (1978:48) wrote, "In classical Indian thought, generosity to Brahmans, codified as the 'law of the gift' (*dānadharma*), was an important element of the role of kings":

> [I]n the late seventh and early eighth centuries, a fundamental change occurred in the conception of what constitutes sovereignty: the giving of gifts, which was previously only one element of the basic definition of kings as *sacrificers*, now became the central constituent of sovereignty. This shift . . . coincides with the beginnings of temple-building associated with Purānic deities.

Ronald Inden (2000:46) also has outlined a shift in this same time period in North India from sacrificial to image-worshiping liturgies that led to the substitution of temple rituals for those of sacrifice.

How temples have functioned as institutions—leaving aside the commonalities of their symbolic architectural vocabularies (Meister 1986a)—has varied widely over the long history of temple Hinduism, adapting in remarkable ways to social change (Stein 1978). That this is as true in the last few decades as in past centuries for the temples we studied is part of our conclusion.

In the nineteenth century, the temples we have studied in Rajasthan seem by default largely to have been run by communities of hereditary priests (*pujārī*s, *sevak*s).[22] Temple lands in Rajasthan had largely been divided among Sevaks' families.[23] In the twentieth century, however, user communities began to identify temples and myths of origin as sources for reformulating self-identity (Babb 2004). Both local and transnational, these "subaltern" histories have not been easy to recover, and before independent India they were—as in the case of the Dadhimatī Mātā temple—worked out largely in piecemeal and litigious ways. These can seem as petty as the struggle of local Dāhimās for the keys to the *bartan bhaṇḍār* (storeroom for ritual implements). Yet they represent how temples stay alive. In the histories presented in this volume, some of the texture of that daily struggle we hope may have been captured.

New Frames

To the above I would wish to add a note on the changes wrought in the second half of the twentieth century by laws of independent India. Underlying the fabric of changes we have observed and the development of community management in the form of Temple Trusts is a significant shift in India's laws.[24]

Early in the century, as with the local trust for the Jain School and Mahāvīra temple at Osian, established in 1915, or the *All-India* Dāhimā Brāhmaṇa Mahāsabhā (Calcutta,

1924), single communities found common cause. In the 1960s, these were replaced by multi-community boards of trustees in the form of Public Trusts, which were required to register with a Devasthanam office set up by the State. Some significant shifts in management and patronage we found at Khed, Osian, and Goth-Manglod fit a chronology matching shifts in the application of these laws.

Social Legislation

The beginning of new India's approach to temples and the communities who used and managed them can be found in the Bombay Public Trusts Act, 1950, "*An Act to regulate and to make better provision for the administration of public religious and charitable trusts*" (K. N. Shah 1997). The preamble to this Act deserves extensive citation (ibid.:3; S. L. Gupta 1990:77):

> There are instances of how Mahants, Pujaris, Bhatjis and Acharayas who have lived on the temple income for years and flourished fat on the earnings of the Holy shrines have the hardihood of asserting their proprietary rights over such shrines and attempting to devour and appropriate the deity and donations to themselves. Though they may have for generations held out to and invited innumerable devotees for *Darshan*, and hundreds of devotees may have openly come for *Darshan*, and worshiped the idol for years, and though donations, offerings and emoluments may have been begged, asked for, offered and received uninterruptedly, when it comes to registration of the Temple as a Public Trust and accounting for its income, they would not stop of claiming exclusive rights of ownership not only over the income but the idol, the deity of the temple too. They, the preservers of the deity and the spiritual heads, the supposed saviours of the souls of sinners & the sanctity of the holy shrine would go to any length to perjure themselves, if they could not establish their ownership over the endowment and its property, and derive the material benefit of getting its income. Such instances are not few.[25] The richer the endowment, the greater the temptation to swallow the same. To such impious Pujaris, Managers and Mahants, nothing matters: considerations neither of this world nor the next, if they could only serve their selfish end. Such instances, justify the passing of and the utility of this act.

The Bombay Public Trusts Act was adapted and modified through the 1950s, and became the model for the Rajasthan Public Trusts Act, 1959 (S. L. Gupta 1990:73–212) and laws in other states. It is no accident that the head priest at Osian, Jugrāj, took interest in the establishment of the Sacciyā Mātā Temple Trust, or that he was joined by merchants in the community.

Public/Private

According to the Bombay Public Trusts Act, 1960 (K. N. Shah 1997:97), "The distinction between a private temple and public temple is now well settled. In the former case the beneficiaries are specific individuals; in the latter they are indeterminate or fluctuating general public or a class thereof." Rajasthan's "Rules for the Cash Grant-in-aid to Temples

and Other Religious and Charitable Institutions" (S. L. Gupta 1997:617–18) makes one factor crucial to a Public Trust clear.[26] While these "apply to all cash grant-in-aid given by the Devasthan Department of the State," they are only "admissible to the temples and other religious and charitable institutions so long as they are open to all classes of public without any restriction of caste or creed."

That temples like Dadhimatī Mātā and Sacciyā Mātā now serve multiple communities is to their advantage. That the Dāhimā Brāhmaṇa Mahāsabhā fought throughout the last century to establish one community's control over management is not, and has led to numerous trips to law courts and the Devasthanam Department to settle disputes.

The law's distinction between Public and Private gives importance to subtle negotiations among users and to good management (S. L. Gupta [1997:111], citing the case of *Goswami Shri Mahalaxmi Vahuji vs. Rannchhoddas Kalidas,* 1970): "the origin of the temple, the manner in which its affairs are managed, the nature and extent of gifts received by it, rights exercised by the devotees in regard to worship therein, the consciousness of the manager and the consciousness of the devotees themselves as to the public character of the temple are factors that go to establish whether a temple is a public temple or a private temple."

Private temples can still be owned by families and run as businesses. Nirmala Joshi's family, for example, has had a Hanuman temple in its village allotted to it from Mughal times, but she pointed out that revenues from such family-owned temples are now fully taxable as income in modern India, at circa fifty percent.[27] In a case such as that of the Moti Dungri Ganesh (Gaṇeśa) temple in Jaipur, owned and managed by a Dāhimā Brahman family, the family can hire *pujārīs* to carry out daily rituals, and such temple expenses are tax-deductible; or "a temple charitable trust can be set up, which gives considerable tax shelter."[28]

Implementation

A Public Trust is for religious or charitable purposes. It is not the same thing as a Society, which comes under a separate act and is limited to science, education, etc. Law Books warn about mixing the two. Public Trust Acts define how a new public trust can be set up or an existing one recognized, and make it a matter of law for Government to keep a register of such trusts, but do not make it obligatory for an existing trust to register immediately.

Rajasthan Local Laws, sec. 17.[3] (S. L. Gupta 1990, 138), however, adds a dated addendum: "*Registration is compulsory*.—It has been made compulsory on the trustees of a public trust under the Act for the registration of the public trusts within the specified time lest the trustees be liable for disabilities," citing a 1972 decision "*Jagannath vs. Satya Narayan, 1972 RLW 491; 1972 RLW 709*."

It no longer seems strange to me that the Sacciyā Mātā, Mahāvīra, and Dadhimatī Mātā Temple Trusts all finally appear to have been registered in the early 1970s, although modern Public Trust Acts existed a decade or more before that. (Note that "*Jagannath vs*

Satya Narayan" cited above was only settled in 1972.) This flurry of reorganization—in the case of Osian's Jain school and the All-India Dāhimā Brāhmana Mahāsabhā, involving separation of a Temple Trust from previously existing charitable Societies—was the result of pragmatic compulsion.

An appendix in K. N. Shah (1997: 941–1010), entitled "Public Charitable and Public Religious Trusts Taxation and Exemption of their Incomes from Income-Tax Act, 1961," has a long "Table Showing Applicability of Provisions for Different Assessment Years." This makes explicit that for Assessment years 1962–63 to 1970–71 there was an "unconditional exemption"; for 1971–6, Public Trusts were still "Unconditionally exempted": "However . . . Any income which is not applied to the purposes of trust during the previous year to which it relates or which is not *deemed* to have been applied . . . will be liable to tax as if such income were the total income of an association of persons."

For assessment year 1976–77, Trusts were only exempt "if 75% of the income is applied to the purposes of the trust. . . ." A section in a Table on "Accumulation of Income" breaks down this same crucial time-period as follows:

> 1962–71: exempt, subject to conditions [75% has to be invested in Government securities];
>
> 1971–76: same, but extended to other approved securities;
>
> 1976– : Failure to fulfil conditions will result in taxability of accumulation in excess of 25% of income (inclusive of non-corpus *voluntary contribution*).

Basically, for existing trusts in 1962, there was a ten-year tax exemption, then they got socked with regulations. According to K. N. Shah (1997:967):

> In order that the concessional [tax] treatment . . . is available to a trust . . . it is necessary that it must have made an application for its registration . . . to the concerned Chief Commissioner or the concerned Commissioner of Income-tax. . . . The application has to be made before 1-7-73 or before the end of one year from the date of creation of a trust or institution, whichever is later.

In other words, to apply for income-tax exemption an existing trust had to get itself registered—or at least an application filed—by 1 July 1973.

Significance

The Rājpūt vice-president of the Sacciyā Mātā Temple Trust, then a Member of the Legislative Assembly, N. S. Bhati (interview, 30 January 1998) told us, "in the early days of the Trust there were problems with the *pujārī*s. Before the trust, all the money and ornaments offered to the goddess went to the *pujārī*s, but now this is controlled." (He stressed several times that the Trust is on the whole well and responsibly managed in terms of finances.) He believed that "the Trust was formed in response to the requests of pilgrims for a regularized organization to which they could give donations." Both Annual Reports of the Trust and records kept by *pujārī*s suggest such regularized organization is indeed in place.

Perhaps the Raṇchoḍjī temple at Kheḍ, the least successful of the living temples we've studied, does act as a foil for the varied successes of others. Cort (notes 13.ii.98) had commented on "the Balotra baniyās, for whom looking after the temple is part of their larger portfolio of charitable works" and concluded (17.ii.98):

> At Khed we have, I think, something a bit akin to the Rotarian or Fraternal approach to temple management: the local merchants view it as part of their overall portfolio of publically visible charitable giving, but it is not important enough to consume too large a part of any one person's portfolio, and again the lack of either a charismatic holyman or wonder-working deity takes away the *puṇya* factor in giving.

Each one of the temples we've studied, in its own way, location, and from its own history, within the laws of modern India, has found ways to accommodate itself to India's contemporary commodity society.

Notes

1. There are two festivals a year, with up to a lakh of pilgrims; neither is special to any single caste. Local fairs are held on full-moon nights. According to a conversation with Purushottam Gupta, temple trustee (Cort's notes, 13/ii/98), "the two big annual fairs are Kartik Purnima and Radhastami. The latter is the anniversary date of the establishment of the temple."
2. Vaiṣṇav (1973) attributed this painting of the *garbha-gṛha* to Māndās Vaiṣṇav and other renovation over the past sixty to sixty-five years to Balotra residents.
3. Bhanwar Lal Vaishnav, temple trustee, interviewed on 13 February 1998, referred to *jīrṇoddhār* "by one Mukundcandji about 40 years ago," but gave a date of VS 1980 (1923 CE).
4. We were told that this mirror work was done about ten or eleven years before; one old man insisted it was 250 years old.
5. This temple was set up by Chandmal Chandak, a Māheśvarī trustee of the Raṇchoḍjī temple.
6. Similar facilities also have been part of recent additions to the other three temples in our study.
7. "Dāhimā" can be used to refer to multiple communities from the area of this temple; "Dādhīc" relates the lineage of "Dāhimā" Brāhmaṇs to the legend of an ancient sage, Dadīchi (Meister 1998). The shift of designation toward "Dādhīc" in this century is discussed by Babb, chapter nine. The inscription speaks of "Dadhya" Brahmans, now taken to be the present community.
8. Bhandarkar (1907:31), who studied the original inscription where it was stored in the Historic Office in Jodhpur, recorded that this "inscription was removed from an old temple of Dadhmat *mātā*, the tutelary deity of the Dāhimā Brāhmaṇas, lying between the villages of Goṭh and Mānglod in the Nagaur district." A copy of the inscription by Ram Narayan Asopa, with an additional history of the Dāhimās upto the present, has been mounted to the left of the doorway in the temple's hall (Ram Karna 1911–2).
9. During an interview, 7 January 1992, with Jagdish Chandra Bhatt, Dāhimā *rājguru* of the City Palace temple, Jaipur, his son, Ravi Das Sharma, reported that some "Muslim Dāhimās" come to the temple who "treat it as a *pīr*."
10. Somani cites inscriptions dated VṠ 1232 and 1249 (1175 and 1192 CE) and the *Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy 1965–66*, B-487.

11. Jośī (n.d.): "According to an inscription of samvat 1908 [1851 CE] in the temple, at the instructions of Brahmacārī Viṣṇudāsjī of Buḍhādeval, Mahārāṇā Svarūpsingh of Udaipur built outside the temple the *cauk*s, gates, pilgrim rest-house, well, Shiv temple, etc., and renovated the Kapāl Kuṇḍ" (trans. Cort). For this inscription, mounted to the right in the front entry porch, also see G. N. Śarmā 1915.
12. Vaidya Buddhi Prakash Acharya (interview, 25 December 1991) reported that the All-India Dāhimā Brāhmaṇa Mahāsabhā began circa 1920–24. D.R. Bhandarker had invited Pt. Ram Karna Asopa to teach in Calcutta in 1919, and Asopa was president of the "15th annual meeting of the Akhil Bhāratvarṣīya Śrī Dāhimā Brāhmaṇ Mahāsabhā," Calcutta, in 1924 (G. Asopa 1940; I. Āsopā 1993:90–94). The fourteenth, and I believe all previous ones, had been held at the temple, making this the first "All-India" session.
13. The many wells outside the compound represent the many communities who use the temple (each with its own source of water). Representatives of both the Dāhimā Mahāsabhā and the local and public trusts that have managed the temple have emphasized that the Goddess serves multiple communities, however, and that disputes have been over management.
14. For the story of King Māndhātar contained in the *Divyāvadāna* 18 and the Kah-gyur, see Schiefner (1906:1–20).
15. K.C. Jain (1972:468), citing Jñānsundar (n.d.) as his source, reported that Kakkasūri, writing in his 1336 CE *Nābhinandanajinoddhāra*, had recorded "tanks and a wonderful stepwell called Vidagdhā at Osiā." See also Handa (1984:232).
16. "When we made the Trust we took new members from all different communities: Vaiṣṇav, Jain, Rājpūt, Māheśvarī, Jāṭ (Chaudrī), Sonī, Khatrī, Sevak, etc." (interview, Makhanlal Varshney, 7 March 1998).
17. This narrative is incorporated into volumes of printed annual reports of the temple trust, from VS 2002–18, and the school trust, from VS 1993–2008, provided us at the school, and in the school's diamond jubilee commemoration volume, 1988 CE.
18. Āṇandjī Kalyāṇjī Trust involvement in renovation at Osian was from 1976 only (interview, Amrat Lal and Krishna Chandra Sompura, Ahmedabad, 28 July 1996).
19. M.A. Dhaky observed of the then existing two-storied *valānaka* (Dhaky 1968:312–14) that it "is also known as Nālamaṇḍapa by virtue of its construction above the principal stairway of the Jagatī."
20. Bhanu Prakash, *pujārī* at the temple, explained this change as needed so that pilgrims didn't "bump their heads."
21. Krishna Chandra Sompura of the Āṇandjī Kalyāṇjī Trust, Ahmedabad, (interview, 28 July 1996) reported that in 1976 the Mahāvīra temple's entry "was like Kumbhariya, that is, you went up into the entry hall, then down into the temple. The ground level had shifted."
22. Bhanu Prakash, interview, 8 February 1996, reported that "seventy-five years ago, before the school, the Mahāvīra temple was managed by the village *pujārī*." Vaidya Buddhi Prakash Acharya, interview, 25 December 1991, said of the Dadhimatī Mātā temple that for the "last 200 years the temple was in the hands of priests [who were] not Dāhimā Brahmans but *sevaks*. In 1924, Dāhimā Brahmans went to court to establish ownership. They couldn't provide security money. They then tried to get the temple taken over by the Antiquities Act. The reply [in 1928?] says that the temple was [to be] turned over to the community. The Management Committee includes persons of other castes."
23. Nirmala Joshi, interview, 18 January 1998.
24. Rajendra Joshi first pointed out to me the importance of the post-independence Devasthana Act, which took revenue land away from priests, and to the incentives it gave to communities (collectively) to take control of temples at a party for Komal Kothari, Jaipur, 4 January 1992.

25. S.L. Gupta (1990:77), misquotes this as "Such instances are few."
26. The manager of the temple at Khed (interview, 12 February 1998) had said, "for development of the temple, one need only give the Government a 'master plan' and the Government will give seventy percent."
27. Interview, 18 January 1998.
28. According to Nirmala Joshi, "the Ganesh temple has a weekly income of circa one lakh, much of which is then used for the money-lending business. Understandably there was a tax raid the year before."

4

Water in a Desert Landscape

MICHAEL W. MEISTER

The high rolling sand dunes of India's Thar desert begin at the edge of the village of Osian[1] (Handa 1984; Meister 2003a) and march west toward Pokaran, Jaisalmer, across the Rajasthan canal, and on to Cholistan (Mughal 1997). To Osian's east lies what can best be called scrub desert, stretching beyond Jodhpur and the great Salt Lake, even beyond the city of Jaipur, Rajasthan's state capital, where tigers once roamed forests in living memory—the result of relatively recent desertification. At Osian, circa forty-one miles north-northwest of Jodhpur, a group of seventh-to-twelfth-century temples of some reputation have been studied, if intermittently, for over a hundred years (Bhandarkar 1912; Viennot 1976; Kalia 1982; Handa 1984; Meister 1991c–e), yet their liminal position in this high desert landscape has hardly been noted.

The oldest extant Jain temple in western India (Dhaky 1968) lies at Osian—the Mahāvīra temple, first established in the eighth century—as well as a goddess temple dedicated to Sacciyā Mātā, perhaps founded as early as the eighth century but rebuilt in the twelfth. The Sacciyā Mātā temple retains national as well as regional importance for pilgrims. Remarkable changes have occurred to both monuments as pilgrimage centers since my first visit in 1965 (Meister 1995c).

Both have been transformed by new conservation and construction. The Mahāvīra temple's entry hall and court have been reformed and the levels changed. The Sacciyā Mātā temple's presence for pilgrims has been expanded by the addition of a series of gates leading up the hill and by a ring of nine newly built shrines for the Nava-Durgās.

The foundation myth of Osvāl Jains and of the lineage of the Upakeśa Gaccha records an ancient visit by a passing sage, Ratnaprabhasūri, who settled on a hillside at Osian from the air as he was flying by (Hoernle 1890; Jñānsundar 1929). By performing miracles and through conversations and instruction he was able to convert both a large part of the population of Osian—and the goddess Sacciyā Mātā herself—to Jainism. The otherwise nondescript Luṇādrī hill to the southeast at Osian is still marked by a small white-washed shed with two votive foot-print plaques within, one inscribed in 1189 CE (Handa 1984:224, 232).[2]

As this volume records, John Cort, L. A. Babb, and I have studied these shrines as part of an on-going project addressing "continuities of community patronage" at pilgrimage temples in Western India. A dozen other temples were built at Osian from the seventh to twelfth centuries, oriented in different ways, but clustered, in my analysis, around Osian as a catchment area for water in this high desert landscape (Plate 13).

A large multi-storied step-well and tank placed at the core of the sacred center acts as the most formal expression of this function, but two other temples nearby seem also to have had small tanks.[3] Outside of Osian to the east there are also remnants of multiple dikes (*bands*) used to dam and collect water linking hills that border the town. In a region with an average rainfall of under five inches in a year, these must primarily have slowed down runoff, reduced evaporation and promoted the absorption of rainwater into the local water table (from which the tanks in Osian were sometimes filled) (Agarwal and Narain 1997).

This paper draws on documentation carried out at Osian by a multi-disciplinary team, but directs that documentation toward the link between landscape and temple symbolism to answer a question that I, as the art historian on the team, was frequently asked: "Why were all of these temples built here?"

Located midway in the sacred zone, the large well, step-well, and tank complex at Osian was still substantially buried when I first visited it in 1965 and 1971 (Plate 13). (At present it is surrounded by dense thorn thickets planted by the Government to keep the desert sands away.) Two ornamented pavilions, with broad niches at the back and pillars with beautifully carved capitals, once acted as viewing platforms half-way up the height of the cistern.

This vast tank has been excavated in recent years to a depth of seven levels and in part restored under the auspices of the Rajasthan State Department of Archaeology and Museums (Plate 14). Local sculptors and artisans were called upon to do this work (one, Chuna Ram Prajapat [Plate 25], is a leading local sculptor also called upon to carve replacements for damaged images at the Mahāvīra temple). The rebuilt tank unfortunately is still not appropriately maintained. (At my last visit sewage from nearby habitation trickled in from the northwest corner, producing a mass of plant-growth and slime.)

At the tank's center, the rectangular basin has seven stepped layers of steep stairs (*ghāṭs*) on north, west, and south, to provide access to water (Plate 16). On the east, there were once two, narrow, L-shaped, stairway-corridors that allowed users to descend from

ground level to doors into the two balconies. These viewing pavilions over-looked a central gap or sluice-gate that allowed ground water from the shaft of a deep draw-well behind to flow or be transported into the tank. As in other step-wells, accommodation of drought or flood conditions was considered, so that water could be obtained from several levels (Mankodi 1991).

At desert level on the east there are remains of a gatehouse that enclosed a circular space perhaps meant to allow oxen to draw up skins of water from this deep well (Plate 16). Placed in relation to the Mahāvīra Jain temple and the Sacciyā Mātā hill, and with two other later temples with remains of tanks (*kuṇḍs*) nearby, this giant water-construction marks not merely public works and public service, but a rationale for Osian as a *tīrtha* or holy place marked by many temples.

On the east side of the step-well's *kuṇḍ* and exposed by recent excavation, two massive masonry buttresses look like shrines, with ornamented curvilinear *śikhara*-like superstructures, yet they had no *sancta* nor housed a deity. They rather frame the gateway channel through which water from the sacred earth entered into the tank.

Water was the origin of Osian's sacrality and temple building, as water was the "source of all things" in India's ancient cosmology (Coomaraswamy 1993). In this desert landscape, to locate water and to create access was to open up the cosmos. In its presence, local goddesses or Jain sages could take up residence as witnesses on hills nearby; land and hills themselves were conceived as stemming from cosmic waters, to which Osian's *tīrtha* gave a gate.

Osian's sacred landscape subtly nestles into the scenery, desert seeming to deny the water that lies beneath (Plate 13). The original line of temples built on the desert through the eighth century stretched from the Luṇādrī hill on the east to the present Jain temple and school on the west (beyond this, dunes of the high desert begin). It is precisely the almost unperceived dip in the desert between that captures available groundwater and makes it accessible to wells and tanks temple builders made to mark the site. To the northwest, Sacciyā Mātā's hill appropriately deflects to the south-southeast, the direction of this sump, seeming even to bow to this source (Plate 12). (The earliest shrine surviving on Sacciyā Mātā's hill—the present to Satya Nārāyaṇ temple and its gate—is oriented fully northwest and the last temple built on the desert below in the ninth century—the present Viṣṇu temple no. 2—to the southeast.)[4]

That temples have tanks or should be located near sacred waters is a cliché of texts on temple building from the time of Varāhamihira in the sixth century CE (Meister 2003b:255), yet the empowerment of water—its capacity to make the sacred—is nowhere more apparent than at Osian. A similar large tank-and-well was built in Rajasthan near the Vaiṣṇava temple at Abaneri early in the ninth century, but the tank there should be seen as the ground for the temple, not the temple the rationale for the well (Meister and Dhaky 1991:237). Perhaps, by its location on axis with the temple's sanctum, the remarkable rectangular water tank built in the eleventh-century in front of the Sun temple at Modhera in Gujarat (Herdeg 1967; Lobo 1982; Hegewald 2002) more fully pronounces its sacred

(as well as secular) functions; but both root the temple to the earth. (At Modhera there is also a small step-well outside the temple compound.)

As a result of recent conservation carried out at Modhera, this tank now mostly remains dry. This is because a mistake was made by sealing the rebuilt well, thus making it waterproof when its stones were replaced. What this has done is to seal the groundwater *out*, making clear why similar tanks, as at Osian, needed no drains. They are designed as filters, to pull natural groundwater in. Existing water makes the temple possible.

That water underlies growth and maturation of the cosmos, its differentiation, might seem a logical position in India's ripe agrarian landscapes; yet to see water under the desert, as at Osian, sets an extreme frame for understanding India's "water cosmology" (Coomaraswamy 1993). I am struck, going back to early-twentieth-century illustrations of the story of Jain conversion at Osian, that the sage Ratnaprabhasūri is shown most often in a water-filled landscape, not a desert landscape like that of Rajasthan.[5] In one of these images from Osian's narrative, labeled "Ratnaprabhasūri meets Svayamprabhasūri," Svayamprabhasūri is shown seated on a lotus, its stem growing up from water (Plate 14). (A portrait of Jñānsundar, Osian's great twentieth-century promoter, also shows him in front of a painting of a water-filled landscape [Plate 28].)

That so powerful a mythic world has persisted into twentieth-century sources is a testament to a world-view that can see beyond the desert's veil and could tap water that was actually present without having to build a concreted Rajasthan canal (a leaky branch pipe-line of which is the reason for the Osian village's considerable recent urban growth) (Agarwal and Narain 1997).

At Mandor, near Jodhpur, a small ancient L-shaped step-well (Plate 14, bottom right) was cut through solid rock and bears an inscription dated VS 742 (685 CE) (Meister 1991e:125). Carved to either side were two sculpture panels, one with the seven mothers dancing with Gaṇeśa and Naṭeśa, and one to the left of cosmic Śiva seated on a lotus, much like Svayamprabhasūri in the print from Osian, its stalk growing up from the waters flanked by snake-devotees (Plate 14, bottom). It is this same cosmically centered model that early twentieth-century illustrations invoke, as does the site of Osian.

It is from the presence of very real water, hidden by desert sands, that Osian's temples spring; their deities embody cosmic creation, not merely cultic diversity. Because of this water Osian *tīrtha* exists. It is the water of the cosmic ocean that twentieth-century images invoke to portray the reality of Osian—invisible water made visible by temples sprouting in a desert landscape.

Notes

1. 26°E18'N, 73°1'E.
2. "Now people generally believe these foot-prints to be those of Ratna-prabha as is also borne out by a recent renovatory inscription of these foot-prints" (this inscription was installed at the instructions of Muni Jñānsundar in 1909 CE) (Handa 1984:232).

3. The Sūrya-Viṣṇu and Pīpalā-devī temples (nos. 9 and 12, Plate 12).
4. These are numbered 2 and 14 in Plate 12.
5. Both illustrations from Jñānsundar (1929) are signed "D.C. Mali"; the one on the left is dated 1928. Jñānsundar helped found the Jain school at Osian early in the century and did much to recreate the myth of Osian for Jains (see chapter eight). He installed an inscription concerning renovation of the foot-print shrine on Luṇādri hill in 1909 CE (see note 2).

5

Light on the Lotus

Temple Decoration or Essential Form?

MICHAEL W. MEISTER

Sometime by the seventh century, a goddess partly emerged from the earth near Manglod, startling a herdsman who halted her emergence by his cries. All that marks her presence is her knee or elbow, emerging—as is the case with many other local goddesses in Rajasthan—as a natural stone (Plate 5).[1] Such stones are ornamented by ritual, silvered, dressed with color and flowers. Around this goddess, who took the name Dadhimatī Mātā, local Brahmans built a *sthāna* or sacred platform early in the seventh century.[2]

The seventh-century inscription that records their donations also records that this community of Brahmans were called "Dadhya," now taken to be the present community of Dāhimā Brahmans who still worship Dadhimatī as their clan goddess or *kul devī* (Ram Karna 1911–2).[3]

The present stone temple to Dadhimatī, located between Goth and Manglod villages in Nagaur district, replaced the original *sthāna*; it was built perhaps in the second quarter of the ninth century, on the basis of art-historical evaluation of the temple's architectural form and stone decoration (Meister 1991d:252–54) (Plate 6).

The sanctum floor of this enclosure is at the level of the original shrine, sunk several feet below the present hall's level.[4] In one published photo, the stone is covered with a silver mask and ornamented as it was worshiped in circa 1989 (Meister 1993:fig. 35). Today a new mask, ritual implements, and shelter have replaced those (Plate 5).

The myths of the Dāhimā Brahmans connect their lineage to the sage Dadhīci, who gave his bones to Indra to make a *vajra* powerful enough to slay an earth-threatening demon (*Dadhimathī Purāṇa* 20.19–23; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* VI.9–10). Only a cow could lick away his flesh to free that essential substance (Plate 28, bottom). Dādhīc Brahmans today trace their lineage to this sage and to his protective relationship with their goddess (J. N. Asopa 1988), including a medieval branch that "left true practice," perhaps even becoming Muslim.[5]

A shrine to this sage Dadhīci was installed in the court (*cauk*) surrounding the Goddess's shrine several decades ago (Plates 4, 28).[6] His image has also been set up in public places (primarily traffic circles) in Jaipur and Jodhpur in recent years to reinforce the identity of the community.[7] In the village of Borunda, however, we encountered a less reverent folk version of the story of Dadhīci and Indra.[8] In that version, Indra had left his most powerful weapon in the sage Dadhīci's care. By using it as a pestle, Dadhīci over time absorbed all of its essence through the herbs he ground for his own consumption. In the words of this village bard, "he had drunk the rolled *bhāṅg* of *vajra* for 5,000 years (which was given to him by Śiva)," thus inspiring Indra's request for his bones.[9]

The sculptures that ornamented the shrine in the ninth century (Plate 6) show that this local goddess, Dadhimatī, was then being clothed by associations with the deities of Puranic Hinduism (Meister 1991d:252–54). On the high *śukanāsa* fronton facing the temple is an image of what we normally identify as Durgā slaying a buffalo demon. This same typological form of the Goddess, however, can often be seen used elsewhere in Rajasthan as the visible image for a number of other locally powerful goddesses like Dadhimatī, such as Pādāmātā or Osian's famed Sacciyā Mātā, in both her guise as a Hindu and as a Jain goddess (Dhaky 1967).

Over the sanctum's doorway also sits an image of the goddess with Śiva above. On the lintel in front of the foyer to the sanctum that frames the space that shelters the goddess's immediate worshipers, the long narrative of the slaying of the buffalo demon is portrayed once again.

Images on the sanctum's outer walls show *dikpāla*s guarding the directions on the corners. The central offsets show Gaṇeśa on the south, a beautiful form of Durgā as Kṣemaṅkarī on the west and Pārvatī performing yogic austerities (herself "burning as the fifth flame") on the north. Above, below the *śikhara*, is a necking with a long sculpted narrative with multiple scenes from the epic *Rāmāyaṇa* (Giri and Tiwari 1986:161–74) (Plate 6).

Clothed in this ecumenical web of Brahmanical Hinduism, this local goddess, however, remains also herself, worshiped by many other communities as well as by the Dāhimā Brahmans who take her name.[10] A community of nearby Jāṭs from Bidyasar (Ratav) also take her to be their local protective goddess, telling a tale of mayhem and murder solved by her intervention at the beginning of their lineage.[11]

These communities have returned to the temple over many centuries, reusing and elaborating it as a form of ornament to the goddess. In the mid-nineteenth century in

particular, a Dāhimā sage who was an advisor to the king of Mewar was rewarded by him by having the temple substantially repaired and its compound enlarged.[12] He added the four large open courts that now encase the historical structure, to which a fifth was added to serve as a much larger *dharmśālā* by the Dāhimā community in the twentieth century (Plate 7).[13]

This entire set of compounds must be understood as being the temple today. The legend of the Mahārāṇā of Udaipur's patronage has been conflated in community myth with vague knowledge of the sanctum's seventh-century foundation inscription, and pamphlets state that the temple built by the Mahārāṇā was built by him in a much more ancient mythic time.[14]

Each encasement of the goddess is a new decoration and a new manifestation. Form itself is the ornament (Meister 1995a). A "temple" is best understood as decorated by its worship and worshipers, as threads adorn the pillar next to the sanctum at Dadhimatī. These are tied by pilgrims who believe that to do so gives them powerful benefits (*camatkār*). Community memory says this pillar floated above its base until a generation ago as a symptom of its magical power.[15]

Without such memory, ornament loses meaning (Meister 1990). The ninth-century sculptures that I, as an historian, can interpret have largely lost their identity in the present temple.[16] Few worshipers even look at them. Ritual ambulation at the temple now goes from worship of the mask in the sanctum to a Bherū placed below the west *bhadra*, then to the shrine in the temple's compound set up to honor the ancestral sage, Dadhīci (Plate 4).[17]

Worship moves from the centrality of the goddess's shrine out to newer shrines in other *cauk*s set up to honor Śiva, Hanumān, a second Bherū, as well as Dadhīci (Plate 28, bottom). Like the temporary mask that covers her autochthonous elbow in the sanctum; like the implements and adornment of ritual; like the sculpted images that clothe the historical sanctum and the expanding architectural compounds that made the temple new; it is this life of worship that makes the goddess's presence real. It is this "ornament" that gives the image, the temple, the lives of the devotees form (Meister 1995a) (Plate 27).

Finally, of course, within the calendrical cycle of ritual, the goddess is ritually placed within a temporary image kept in an early twentieth-century painted palanquin within the *maṇḍapa*, moved to a modern horse-drawn chariot mounted on a jeep, and taken in procession by worshipers to celebrate the decorating spirals of worship in real time (Plate 34, bottom). She is returned to the front of the temple's podium for group worship in the evening, then her presence returned to the permanent object in the sanctum within. Carrying out such seasonal festivals is as much a part of ornament as of her rituals.[18]

There is also an exceptional and archaeologically related ninth-century temple in nearby Didwana, now re-dedicated to a local goddess called Pādāmātā, that has had very little of this ritual life woven around it through the passage of time and the vicissitudes of its history.[19] Perhaps the elaborate sculptural ornamentation preserved on this temple's walls can better represent what we usually talk of as "temple ornament," more than the

ritual life of the Dadhimatī Mātā temple on which I have chosen to focus this essay (Plate 27).[20]

Yet in the case of this wall, if I choose to read its iconography carefully, I come back to its physical ornament as a marker of manifestation.[21] On this temple's north wall, in the necking at the top beneath the *śikhara,* for example, to the left under the shadow of the *maṇḍapa*'s awning, is a startling depiction of a goddess, in her form as slayer of the buffalo demon, emerging from the earth in the presence of cattle and herdsmen (Plate 27, bottom). This contemporaneous ninth-century "vision" of a goddess becoming physically manifest can only take us back to the continuing local myth of Dadhimatī Mātā's emergence near Goth-Manglod (Plate 28, bottom).[22]

Along this necking around the temple are a series of other depictions of Puranic goddesses and gods, while on the central *bhadra* of the wall below Durgā again presides in her iconic reality as buffalo slayer (Plates 6, 27). The miscellaneous narrative cycle under the *śikhara*, however—as with *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes on the Dadhimatī Mātā temple—would seem to be about the necessary rooted reality of ornament as representing the process of manifestation within time and history (Meister 1996).

The life of ritual marks and makes the temple live.[23] At Dadhimatī Mātā, while I was there for the celebration of spring Navrātrī, as the procession brought the temporary form of the goddess out to be worshiped on the edge of her tank, a great spring rainstorm blew across this desert *tīrtha*, as if the goddess were ready to spring forth from the earth again (Plate 34).[24] Few of the gathered worshipers were surprised.

In Mumbai, Kolkata, Bangalore, Chennai—even Los Alamos and New Jersey—the Dāhimā diaspora in the twentieth century has carried this goddess, her home shrines and her worship to distant places.[25] The circles of encasement spread out from that point near Manglod where a simple herdsman first heard the sound of her emerging from the earth. Each shrine and worshiper ornaments her manifestation; they give her form. She is adorned by worship. Decoration is the residue of worship.[26]A temple is a god's embodiment (Maxwell 1982). As a made stone image must be carved with its adornment of jewels and garments, it also must then be garbed in real cloth and flowers (Plate 30). So the temple must be wound about, not only by images but by ritual (Waghorne and Cutler 1985). Worship, as the ultimate ornament, is the deity's intimate final form in time.

In India's world of worship, ornament is thus essential. It is the light on the lotus. It makes the flower visible in all its ephemeral beauty. There is no body *and* ornament. Body *is* ornament. What is adorned is somewhere invisible deep inside.

A Note on the Date of the Dadhimatī Temple Inscription

D.R. Bhandarkar (1907:31) studied the original stone inscription when it was stored in the Historic Office in Jodhpur and reported that it had been "removed from an old temple of Dadhmat [*sic*], the tutelary deity of the Dāhimā Brāhmaṇas, lying between the villages of Goṭh and Mānglod in the Nagaur district." The inscription was soon published in *Epigraphia Indica* (Ram Karna 1911-12), where a date of Gupta Era 289 was proposed.

Bhandarkar (1914:71–74; 1983:182, no. 1336) supported this dating and placed it in his "List of North-Indian Inscriptions." Ram Narayan Asopa mounted a copy of the inscription—which is still in the temple—to the left of the *maṇḍapa*'s doorway, adding to it his own history of the Dāhimā Brahmans up to the early twentieth century (Śarmā 1915).

V.V. Mirashi (1961; 1964), however, in a scattered series of articles attempted to read the date as 189, rather than 289, and to place it either in the Harṣa or Bhāṭika era (either 795 or 813 CE). These dates have not commonly been accepted by archaeologists or architectural historians, nor by the Dāhimā community (Meister and Dhaky 1991:252; Handa 1984:6). Because the Dadhimatī inscription refers to "a verse nearly identical" to one in the *Devīmāhātmya* (11.9), however, it has recently reentered a debate about the date of that important religious text (Yokochi 2004:21, n. 42); Yokochi has pointed out that there is "a considerable possibility that the verse was not quoted from the *Devīmāhātmya*" and that "this inscription cannot provide a definite *terminus ante quem* for the *Devīmāhātmya,*" even as she accepts Mirashi's dating.

However this text-based debate will work itself out, in the context of our project the sunken floor of the stone temple's sanctum still suggests the existence of an earlier *sthāna* that preceded the ninth-century temple with its overlayering of Puranic iconography. As Babb has written earlier in this volume (pp. 56–57), the dating of this inscription "does not seem to challenge traditional history in any significant way, which is probably because the metrical date falls more or less in the featureless middle ground of Dāhimā Brahman social time where it contradicts nothing of importance."

Notes

1. This stone, however, also gets interpreted as her "skull" and ornamented with her face. One telling of the myth connects the *kapāl kuṇḍ*, the large circular tank outside the temple compound (Plate 34), with the emergence of her head from the ground (Plate 28, bottom).
2. At the seminar on "Shangar and Sringar" in Mumbai where I first presented this essay, I was struck by Harsha Dehejia's characterization of *śṛṅgār* as three different things—love, adornment, and *bhakti*—but not *prem* nor *alaṁkāra* precisely.
3. Gehlot et al. (1988:235) cite a nineteenth-century publication of this inscription (Devīprasād 1894:7). Bhandarkar (1907:31) saw this inscription in the "Historic Office at Jodhpur, capital of the Mārwār State," where it had been moved.
4. The folklorist Ram Prasad Dadich, Jodhpur, 3 January 1998, claimed that the whole "inside" temple (I take this to mean the interior sanctum, i.e. its natural floor) came out of the earth with the Goddess.
5. This branch is shown on the lineage tree painted on the south wall of the temple *cauk* at the Dadhimatī Mātā temple and reproduced from time to time in *Dadhimatī* magazine. A signboard lists twelve branches of Dāhimās, stating that the twelfth *gotra* "became *mlecch* due to bad conduct (*anācār*)." Nagauriya Muslim "Dāhimās" still live in Udaipur, Tonk, and elsewhere in Rajasthan, although they have no memory of the Goth-Manglod temple. Rajendra Joshi, however, carried out an interview with a community genealogist in August 1998 in which a Brahman link was acknowledged (personal communication).

6. Interview with Nityanand Shastri, Nagaur, on 10 March 1998, who claimed its establishment. The Dadhīci image in the shrine has an inscription below of VS 198[x] (1923–32 CE); an inscription on the decorated floor of the shrine says it was installed in this location in 1976.
7. There is also a Dādhīc Lane in Mumbai. The Dāhimā Mahāsabhā lobbied for years for a commemorative postage stamp and a special 60 paisa stamp to honor "Maharshi Dadhichi" was finally released in Jaipur on 26th March 1988. The first-day-cover brochure from the National Philatelic Museum, New Delhi, identifies the sage Dadhīci as a Vedic saint: "about 5,000 B.C." who "Taught men to make fire. Conferred bones on Indra, to destroy Vrttra."
8. Sung by Ghisu Maharaj for John Cort and L. A. Babb in Borunda on 25 March 1998.
9. Ghisu's version is quite explicit as to why Dadhīci's bones were essential to Indra; that of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is quite a bit less so.
10. In an interview with Vaidya Buddhi Prakash Acharya, secretary of the All India Dāhimā Mahāsabhā from circa 1945–48, Jodhpur, 25 December 1991, Buddhi Prakash parsed the multi-community worship of Dadhimatī by saying the goddess could be perceived as Mahā Kālī by Jāṭs, Mahā Lakṣmī by Baniās and Sarasvatī by Brahmans.
11. This extended narrative was retold to L. A. Babb and Michael Meister by Prem Prakash Bidyasar, based on the story he had heard as a boy from his family's genealogist, no longer alive, in an interview in Jodhpur on 4 May 1998. In an earlier interview recorded by John Cort and Vivek Bhandari at the Dadhimatī Mātā temple on 3 January 1997, Shrikisan *Pujārī* identified *gotra*s of Jāṭs who view Dadhimatī as *kul devī* as "Renuā, Bhidosar, and Indriyā."
12. A large stone inscription now mounted to the proper left of the east entry to the temple's hall records that "additions to the temple were made by a Dāhimā Brahmachāri named Viṣṇudāsajī in V.S. 1906" according to Ram Karna 1911–12 (reprinted in J. N. Asopa [1988:71 n. 2]), who goes on to report that "further repairs to the temple are being executed [circa 1913] by the Dāhimā-mahāsabhā, by raising subscriptions from the whole community of Dāhimā Brāhmaṇas residing in all parts of India. Nearly Rs. 10,000 has already been collected and spent for this purpose." This inscription has been published by Śarmā (1915).
13. Kathābhaṭṭ (1990) reported that the Dāhimā Mahāsabhā was founded at the Caitra Navrātrī of VS 1967 (April 1910) at the Dadhimatī Mātā temple. According to the account published in the first issue of *Dadhimatī*, all present at this meeting accepted that the Mahāsabhā should be based in Dadhimatī *kṣetra* and its main work should be *jīrṇoddhār* (renovation) of the temple and publication of a monthly magazine. Several structures have been built against the east wall of the five *cauk*s: a Māheśvarī *pyāu*; a Dadhimatī *pyāu*, VS 2005 (1958 CE); and a "Śri Viśvakarma *pyāu*" (itself a large *dharmśālā*), VS 2010 (1963 CE). Plans for a large new two-storied *dharmśālā* building separate from the temple compound have been drawn up by Shilpankan architects in Jaipur and a fund-raising campaign has been launched by the current president of the Mahāsabhā, Mahavir Prasad (color brochure, October 1996) (Plate 7).
14. Omnārāyaṇ Dādhīc (1996) writes that this temple was first built by Viṣṇudās about 2000 years ago. Jośī (n.d.) more accurately reports that "according to an inscription of samvat 1908 [CE 1851] in the temple, at the instructions of Brahmacārī Viṣṇudāsjī of Buḍhādeval, Mahārāṇā Svarūpsingh of Udaipur built outside the temple the *cauk*s, gates, pilgrim resthouse, well, Śiva temple, etc., and renovated the Kapāl Kuṇḍ." This current construction of the temple's antiquity suggests three levels: 1) a structure founded by the king of Ayodhya, Māndhātā, in the *treta yug* when he came to the *kapāl pīṭh*; 2) the *sthāna* constructed when the goddess emerged to the view of the cowherd; 3) the present temple as it was reformulated by Viṣṇudās.

15. References to this "*adhar thambh*" are common in guidebooks and interviews, and its decoration can be observed today. Striking, however, are the memories of it hovering in past decades, repeated by many worshipers.
16. Tivārī (1997:21–23) comments that "possibly the invasions of Mohammad Ghazni or Aurangzeb reached here, and damaged images on the four sides of the *śikhar*." He also notes that one branch of Rājpūts was known as Dādhīc and that there is a Dāhimā sub-caste of Muslims.
17. Observed on the seventh day of *gupt* Navrātrī, 2 February 1998.
18. Observed on the eighth day of the spring Navrātrī festival, 4 April 1998.
19. This temple is located near the old salt factory, on the banks of a salt lake, in a compound remade by the salt mines to provide a few *dharmśālā* rooms, two bathing rooms and a small mosque in front to show the harmony of the two communities. The *pujārī* on our visit on 3 February 1998 said the temple's present goddess functions as *kul devī* for some local groups of Jāṭs and other communities. I thank Vijay Verma, Shadaja Centre for Art and Culture, Jaipur, for directing me to this important structure.
20. See Coomaraswamy (1995), his seminal article on ornament.
21. Kramrisch (1946) uses the pregnant phrase that the temple is a "monument of manifestation."
22. As in a booklet bought at *gupt* Navrātrī from a stall outside the temple gate (S. Dādhīc n. d.:5–6) (Cort's translation): "At that time he heard a voice from the sky, a lion's roar which frightened the cattle, and the cowherd cried out 'Oh! What is coming forth?' Mahāmāyā's head emerged from the ground, and the goddess said, 'Those who worship my head will get happiness and peace.'"
23. This is not to say that the integrity of the temple as symbol cannot exist without ritual. For the complexity of conservation and worship, see Meister 1995d; for the complexity of a "synchronic sample," see Meister 1990.
24. This procession occurred on the eighth day of Navrātrī, 4 April 1998.
25. Ravi Bhatt, son of Jagdish Chandra Bhatt (Jagdishchandra Sharma Kathabhatt), former Rājguru of Jaipur State, for example, worked for NASA in the U.S. for nine years (interview, 6 January 1992). Other near relations live in Los Angeles and New Jersey.
26. Kramrisch (1946:45) cites sources that make all building (*vāstu*) the "residue of sacrifice": "The Universe is in the Residue. Heaven and Earth, all Existence is in the Residue (*AV.* [*Atharva Veda*] XI.9.1–2a)."

Part III

Pilgrims and Patrons

6

Pilgrimage and Identity in Rajasthan

Family, Place, and Adoration

JOHN E. CORT

Why do people go on pilgrimage? The simplest answer is that a person goes to a specific place, a shrine that is holy for a special reason: it is the site of a special image or icon, a sacred relic, or where an important event occurred. One goes to a pilgrimage shrine to partake of direct access to something that is holy, or to engage in the memory of a sacred event.[1] In India, pilgrims usually go to temples.[2] One can then ask: Why do Hindus and Jains in Rajasthan go on pilgrimage to temples? The simple answer is that the pilgrim has a special relationship with a deity who is located or resides in that temple in the form of an image, either iconic or aniconic.

Most temples are homes to multiple deities, however. There is the main deity in the central sanctum, after whom the temple is usually named. There are other deities, too, often numbering in the dozens. They reside both on the central altar and subsidiary altars. Furthermore, many pilgrimage temples attract subsidiary temples. Some of these are newly built to share in the glory of the main temple, and others are older nearby temples that are pulled into the orbit of the sacred power of the shrine. A pilgrimage shrine is thus a sacred complex, an elaborate network of shrines and sub-shrines.[3] This multiplicity further distinguishes the experience of one pilgrim from another. Pilgrims travelling from different distant places will have different experiences. But we must also distinguish between pilgrims from afar and local residential pilgrims. If we define pilgrimage as the act of going from one place to another for a religious reason, we must include in our discussion the residents of the city or town where the pilgrimage shrine is located. Some

pilgrims travel a great distance to arrive at the shrine, and many go only once in a lifetime. They travel by plane, train, bus, car, and bullock cart. In former times, they would have travelled many miles on foot. Others live nearby, and so can go every day. They can easily walk the five or ten minutes to the temple. For the former, experience of the sacred goal is of something new and out of the ordinary; for the latter, of something familiar. Nor can we assume that pilgrims' relationships with deities are all of the same type. In practice, pilgrims go on pilgrimage for multiple reasons, go to different circles of shrines at any one pilgrimage site, and have differing relationships with the deities there.

Does a pilgrim have a relationship with one, a few, or all of these deities? Does a pilgrim come every time to fulfill a relationship with the same deity, or on different visits does a pilgrim interact with different deities? Are the pilgrims' intentions uniform, or do they vary? If the intentions are variable, what factors shape them? Some people visit a temple as part of the long-distance ritual of pilgrimage. Others who visit a temple are residents of nearby neighborhoods and villages. Do intentions also vary for these different groups of pilgrims? These were some of the questions that underlay our interdisciplinary research project.

We were interested in understanding the social factors that enable some temples to survive as functioning entities for many centuries. Scholars often know why a temple was built; either the sponsor has left us a dedicatory inscription detailing his (or more rarely her) intention, or there is a narrative text telling the story of the temple. But these founding intentions rarely if ever account for the survival of a temple, and the thousands of ruined and abandoned temples in South Asia, as well as those which we know only from texts, are eloquent evidence of this. For a temple to survive for more than a generation or two it needs to be maintained and periodically renovated or restored. This happens only if people have an ongoing relationship with the deity who resides in the temple. This brings us back to the question with which I started: Why do Hindus and Jains go on pilgrimage to a temple? The answers to this question go far toward explaining why some temples have flourished for centuries, while others have quickly subsided into insignificance and eventually become ruins.

Given the multiplicity of temples, deities, pilgrims, and intentions associated with any pilgrimage shrine, we must see it as the locus of complex interlinkings and disjunctions. Multiple intentions mean that there are multiple relationships between humans and deities expressed in a single shrine. A pilgrimage shrine therefore does not have a single "meaning," so we also have to understand the deities who reside at a shrine in multiple ways. In discussions with pilgrims, trustees, and temple officiants, three key concepts emerged by which they explained differences among deities at Osian.

Some deities are "family lineage deities" (*kul devatā*), specific to a particular social group. This is either an entire caste (*jāti*) or a patriclan (*gotra*). This deity often has a special role in the history of the kin group. Members of the group worship the deity in the context of life-cycle rituals, especially marriage and birth, as part of a relationship based on shared descent.

Some deities are "place deities" (*sthānīya devatā*), who are specific to a place. Their names are often synonymous with the place, as in the Mother Goddess of Osian (Osiyā Mātā), the Bherū of Osian (Osiyā kā Bherū), and the Mahāvīra Who Adorns Osian (Osiyā-Maṇḍan Mahāvīra). Most if not all people who reside in the place worship these deities on specific annual occasions as part of a relationship based on mutual residence.

Some deities are "adored deities" (*ārādhya devatā*). They are worshiped because of a relationship of adoration (*ārādhanā*) that provides meaning and spiritual sustenance in the lives of the devotees. This worship is not necessarily tied to a specific liturgical schedule, as it can occur whenever the devotee feels a need or a calling ritually to activate the relationship.

These three categories arose most clearly in discussions concerning Sacciyā, but all of the deities I discuss in this chapter can be fitted into this typology. They are not mutually exclusive categories, but highly elastic ones which easily slide into each other. Scholars of Hinduism will recognize them, for they are similar to a tripartite categorization of Hindu deities into family deity (*kul devatā*), village deity (*grām devatā*), and chosen deity (*iṣṭa devatā*).[4] I should underscore that the three categories arose only slowly out of the analysis of the fieldwork material, not out of any pre-fieldwork assumptions.

Deity as Family Protector and Progenitor: *Kul Devatā*

Traditionally almost all Hindu and Jain families in north India had a relationship with a particular deity, a family lineage deity (*kul devatā*), who was understood to be the protector or progenitor of a specific caste or other kin group. In the vast majority of cases this deity was a goddess. Some contemporary Hindus and Jains have lost knowledge of their family deities as a result of migration, urbanization, and secularization, and some "reformist" and more monotheistically oriented sects among Hindus and Jains have encouraged their adherents to abandon the worship of family deities. Some family deities are specific to a particular caste or patriclan, but most of them, such as Sacciyā, are shared among multiple castes. While Sacciyā historically has had a special connection with the Osvāl merchant caste, she is also the family deity for lineages of Jāṭ peasants, Rājpūt landowners and warriors, Māheśvarī merchants, and others.

Osvāls comprise one of the largest Jain caste-clusters in western India, with Jains from northern Rajasthan to southern Gujarat identifying themselves as Osvāl.[5] Osvāl Jains from an area stretching from Palanpur in north Gujarat to Godwar, the belt of southernmost Rajasthan bordering on Gujarat, exhibit a greater awareness of Osian than Osvāls in many other parts of western India. Most of the Jains in this area are Mūrtipūjak (Image Worshiping), but they come to Osian primarily to worship Sacciyā, not at the temple of Mahāvīra. Osvāls from this area, from towns such as Sirohi, Balotra and Bhinmal, make up the second largest group of donors according to the recent inscriptions at the Sacciyā complex. Sacciyā is their lineage goddess, and so they come on the occasion of first tonsure (*jhaḍūlā*) of sons.[6] Inscriptional evidence indicates that Sacciyā has been the lineage goddess for some Osvāl patriclans since at least 1315 (Handa 1984:17). While

many of them go first to Mahāvīra to take the auspicious sight (*darśan lenā*) of the image of the Jina, and may stay overnight in the Mahāvīra rest-house, the tonsure ritual at Sacciyā is the occasion for the visit. In several cases, we also saw daughters being tonsured, and on one occasion even the father had his head shaved.

Another group of pilgrims who come from afar to Osian are non-Jain peasants, especially Jāṭs from the area southwest of Jodhpur around Barmer. They come to perform *jhaḍūlā* to sons, and also to perform the post-marriage rite known as "giving *jāt*" (*jāt denā*), in which the deity witnesses to the sacred transformation in the couple's status.[7]

In "giving *jāt*" the newly-married couple present themselves to the goddess for her to witness their new state as auspicious householders. Both the bride and groom wear tinsel crowns to appear as a princess and prince. The groom also wears a prominent turban, and the bride her wedding sari or skirt-and-blouse. One end of the bride's sari or blouse is tied to the end of the groom's turban. They briefly go before the deity and make an offering (Plates 30, 31). Some of the offering they receive back as *prasād*, a tangible and often edible divine blessing. When giving *jāt* at Sacciyā, most couples are guided through the rite by a barber (*nāī*), who also rents them the tinsel crowns. Some couples purchase 125 auspicious coconuts outside the temple. (Throughout India one-and-a-quarter is an auspicious number, signifying open-endedness and therefore a continued flow of worldly well-being.) As they walk up the steps of the hill to the temple, one barber makes an auspicious red dot on each step, and another barber places a coconut on the dot. As soon as the couple has passed each step, another barber grabs the coconut, places it in a burlap bag, and at the end of the ceremony resells the coconuts to the vendor who had originally sold them to the couple (Plate 32). The central act in giving *jāt* is not significantly different in action from any other visit to a temple to worship the deity. It consists of the sacred dynamic viewing (*darśan*) of the deity. Hindus understand this act to be as much a case of the deity viewing the human worshiper as the humans viewing the deity.[8] As part of the ritual worshipers also make offerings of flowers, sweet foodstuffs, and incense, and may wave a lamp (*āratī*) in front of the deity.

A corner of the Sacciyā temple compound is reserved for tonsuring (*jhaḍūlā*). On busier days there is a crowd of barbers in the area, and evidence of hair clippings is strewn about the compound floor. The specifics of the ritual vary from family to family, patriclan to patriclan, and caste to caste, but there is a basic order common to all. The barber shaves all the hair on the child's head. Osvāls from the Palanpur region place some of the hair inside rolled-up chapatis, which are offered to an image of Sacciyā in the corner of the barber's compound. The barber eventually throws the hair in a body of water such as a well, or in some other way disposes of it ritually in a safe manner.[9] The chapatis are given to the barber; this seems clearly to be a prestation in which the patron passes on any inauspiciousness to a lower-caste recipient (Raheja 1988). The barbers in turn pass on the inauspiciousness by feeding the chapatis to dogs. If the child is wearing special clothes for the occasion, these might also be gifted to the barber. The family makes a cash payment to the barber; the amount ranges from several rupees for poor peasants to several hundred

rupees for wealthier businessmen. The family then makes offerings of sweets (almost always the hard white sugar-candy known as *makhāṇī*, purchased from vendors outside the entrance gate to the temple compound, sometimes also the cooked wheat and molasses dish known as *lāpsī*), coconut, and flowers to the goddess, part of which are received back as *prasād*. The temple officiant (*pujārī*) at the main altar marks an auspicious *svastik* in sandalwood paste on the child's shaved head. The barber, as we saw, is responsible for disposing of the cut hair, although some peasants keep a small amount of it for offerings at other shrines.

In many cases both these rituals are performed by Jāṭs in one visit. The couple gives *jāt* to the goddess to have her witness their marriage, and then performs *jhaḍūlā* to one or more young sons who are the fruit of the marriage. Oftentimes these life-cycle rites are performed in the context of a pilgrimage to Ramdevra, as Osian is directly on the road from Jodhpur and Barmer to Ramdevra. Ramdevra is the site of the tomb of a deified medieval Rājpūt hero, whose Hindu-Muslim syncretic cult is widespread throughout western India.[10] An employee of the Sacciyā temple informed us that while the largest number of pilgrims comes to Sacciyā during the eight days of the autumnal and vernal "Nine Nights" (Navrātrī), the day that sees the next largest number of pilgrims is Rāmdev Dauj, the day of a big annual fair at Ramdevra in the fall.

Deity as Place: *Sthānīya Devatā*

For people who reside in and around Osian, Sacciyā is *their* goddess. In the words of some informants, she is the *sthānīya devī*, the "place goddess." They are just as likely to call her Osiyā Mātā, "The Mother Goddess of Osian," indicating the degree to which the goddess is central to local identity. Some residents of Osian visit Sacciyā daily, and most visit her at a minimum during the two major annual goddess festivals, the autumnal and vernal Nine Nights. During Navrātrī many people from Jodhpur also make the one-and-a-half hour trip to Osian by car or bus for *darśan* of Sacciyā, and photographs of the ornamented image of the goddess appeared in Jodhpur newspapers. But she is not the only deity in Osian.

Pilgrims to Sacciyā circumambulate the inner sanctum, stopping briefly to bow to the three goddesses enshrined in the outer niches of the shrine: Śītalā to the north, Sacciyā (as Durgā Mahīṣāsuramardinī) to the west, and Cāmuṇḍā to the south. Many also take *darśan* from and bow to the images of Bherū and Gaṇeśa located in niches on either side of the sanctum. After that pilgrims can proceed for *darśan* to some of the other deities in shrines in the immediate vicinity of the main sanctum: Gaṇeśa, Śiva, Sūrya, and Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa.

Pilgrims who have come from afar to give *jāt* to Sacciyā usually stop at this point. For locals, however, she is merely one of a circuit of local deities to whom *jāt* is given. Some of them worship Sacciyā as their lineage goddess. But for many people Sacciyā is not their lineage goddess, as the lineage goddess is only one of several deities to whom people give *jāt*. Each resident caste has its own circuit of local, place-specific deities to whom *jāt* is

given. Giving *jāt* to the lineage goddess confirms the new couple's transformed status within the lineage, from celibate youths to married and potentially fertile householders. *Jāt* is also given to place deities to establish the couple's new identity in their place of residence.

The Bhāṭī (ałso spelled Bhaṭṭī) Rājpūts are the former *jāgīrdār*s (estate-holders) of Osian, who held this *jāgīr* (estate) from the king of Jodhpur.[11] According to one Bhāṭī informant, Sacciyā was one of seven sister goddesses (Sapta Mātṛkā) in the Jaisalmer area, and the lineage goddess of many Bhāṭīs. The founder of the Osian branch, who lived about a dozen generations ago, brought her from Jaisalmer to Osian when he was given the *jāgīr* in reward for his heroism in fighting the Moghuls. Those Bhāṭī Rājpūts who view Osian as their native place worship Sacciyā as their lineage goddess, even if they have subsequently migrated elsewhere. They also try to come to Sacciyā at the time of *jhaḍūlā*. The cut hair is wrapped in a cloth and offered to the goddess; if for some reason the people cannot come to Sacciyā, they can still send the hair to be offered.

Two Bhāṭī Rājpūt informants, both of whom were important senior members of the clan, described different circuits of place deities to whom *jāt* is given. This indicates the extent to which giving *jāt* is a highly family-specific custom.

One informant, for whom the Jaisalmer roots of the family were more important, said that in his family they give *jāt* in Jaisalmer in addition to giving *jāt* to Sacciyā in Osian. They still have sacred connections with their place of "origin." In Osian, his family gives *jāt* at the shrine of a deified heroic ancestor named Pratāp Singh, located on the outskirts of the village. According to this informant, Pratāp Singh was a nineteenth-century Robin Hood, who robbed from the rich and gave to the poor, and was killed in an encounter with policemen from Jodhpur State.[12]

The second Rājpūt informant, the head of the other *jāgīrdār* family and a member of the Sacciyā temple trust, said that in his immediate family the couple gives *jāt* at two other shrines besides Sacciyā. One of these is located in a small garden a ten-minute walk from the Jain temple. Here are three marble plaques, each depicting a sword-bearing hero riding a horse. These are memorial images to deceased heroic ancestors of the family. The inscription on one of them identified the deified ancestor as Cain Saudjī Bhāṭī Bhomyā. A *bhomyā*, or *bhomiyā*, is an ancestor who died protecting the place (the *bhūmi*).[13] A painted sign on the outside of the garden identified the principal deity—and the one mentioned by our informant—as Jhunjār Singhjī Dādosā. *Dādosā* literally means "honored grandfather," and is used to refer to any deified and worshiped ancestor. A *jhunjhār* is also a heroic ancestor, who died defending the village.[14] The usual story of a *jhunjhār* is that he mounted his horse to chase cattle rustlers. In the course of battle he was beheaded, whereupon two eyes sprouted from his chest, and he fought on until all the foes were killed. He then returned to the village, where he was pacified by women sprinkling indigo water on him. In many cases, the *jhunjhār* is memorialized in three places: where his body fell, where his horse fell, and where his head fell. The Osian shrine represents the first of these.

The other shrine mentioned by the second Rājpūt informant was that of the most important Bherū in Osian, known as Roivāle Bherū, "Desert Bherū." His importance for the entire area, and his relationship to Sacciyā, is seen in his other two names: Osiyā kā Bherū (Osian's Bherū) and Sacciyā kā Bherū (Sacciyā's Bherū). Almost every village in Marwar has a particular Bherū who is responsible for protecting the village, and to whom the inhabitants perform rituals on a number of annual, crisis, and lifecycle occasions.[15] In addition, there is a strong relationship between Bherū and the goddess: every goddess has a Bherū who assists her, and most every Bherū is therefore associated in some fashion with a goddess.[16]

There are two shrines of this Bherū. One is an altar on the side of the Mahāvīra temple, and the other several miles north of town. Together these two images make up the totality of the deity. Bherū images are frequently bilocational in Rajasthan. In many places there is both a Gorā (Light) Bherū and a Kālā (Black) Bherū (Bharucha 2003:120). The former, located within the residential area, receives vegetarian offerings; the latter, located in the desert or jungle outside the inhabited area, receives offerings of meat and liquor. While some informants at Osian verbally denied that the two images of Roivāle Bherū represented a Light and Dark Bherū, the ritual practice clearly points to such a distinction. The bilocational nature of Roivāle Bherū is also expressed at the Jain temple itself, for there are two images of Roivāle there. One is an aniconic stone on the small altar on the wall of the temple itself. The other is an aniconic stone leaning against the outside of the compound wall. While legally all people are allowed entrance into the temple compound, some untouchables still prefer to make offerings at the outside image, where in former times all untouchables had to worship.[17]

We heard from several informants variants of the following story concerning how this Bherū came to be in two parts. A Māheśvarī (member of a Hindu vegetarian merchant caste) had noticed that childless couples (one informant specified Rājpūt) sacrificed buffalos to the Bherū and in return received sons. So he vowed to offer (but not sacrifice) a buffalo if he received a son. When he was blessed with a son, he brought a buffalo to the Bherū image, and tied it to the stone that was the image. The buffalo became hungry, pulled at and broke out the stone, and started to run, dragging the top half of the stone behind him. (In some versions, Sacciyā came to meet the buffalo and released him from the stone.) When the rope broke, people decided that was the location chosen by Bherū. The original site was at the Mahāvīra temple, and the second site in the desert outside of the village. (Some tellings had the desert shrine as the original site, and the shrine at the Mahāvīra temple as the second, chosen site.)

The Rājpūt, and some other higher-caste informants, go only to the image at the Mahāvīra temple (Plates 30 and 31). Being attached to a Jain temple, this image of Roivāle Bherū receives only vegetarian offerings of flowers, coconut, incense, vermillion paste, in line with the Jain ethical imperative of *ahiṃsā*, non-harm.[18] People in some castes at the time of *jhaḍūlā* also offer a lock of the boy's hair. The image outside of town, in an unpretentious brick structure built fairly recently, receives offerings of goats and liquor. Several

informants said that due to the bilocational nature of Roivāle Bherū, one should make half of one's offerings at each location; since meat and liquor obviously cannot be offered within a Jain complex, this requirement is met by splitting one's monetary offerings in half.

The Bhojaks are the hereditary officiants of both the Sacciyā and Mahāvīra temples. They are the officiants in many, perhaps even a majority, of the larger temples throughout Rajasthan and Gujarat.[19] They claim originally to be not from India, but instead from Śākadvīp, a continent to the west. There they were priests or servants (*sevag*) at temples of the sun god Sūrya. One therefore will find references to the Bhojaks as Sevag or Śākadvīpī Brahmans. According to their own myths, they were brought to India by Kṛṣṇa when he instituted Sūrya worship to cure his son Sāmba of leprosy.[20] While they view themselves as Brahmans, they share neither food nor marriage with other Brahmans in western India, nor are they included among any of the lists of the *che nyāt*, the "six castes" comprising the orthoprax upper stratum of Rajasthani Brahman castes. In their relatively low status they are similar to temple priestly castes throughout India.[21]

We received from Bhojak informants several lists of deities to whom Osian Bhojaks give *jāt* at the time of marriage. Two of these we have already encountered: Sacciyā and Roivāle Bherū. At Sacciyā, many Bhojaks also give *jāt* to Mundiyāṛ, another goddess located in the main sanctum. She is the lineage goddess of the patriclan of the majority of the Bhojaks in Osian. They claim to have been brought to Osian from the village of Mundiyar near Nagaur, a connection maintained through this goddess. Some Bhojaks also give *jāt* to her at Mundiyar. For most pilgrims, the focus of the main sanctum is the centrally located and elaborately adorned image of Sacciyā.[22] There are other images in the sanctum, as well as a variety of ritual instruments—but in the brief time a pilgrim has for *darśan*, these are part of the background blur of the shrine. I myself did not take cognizance of Mundiyāṛ for many visits, until an interview with a Bhojak called her to my attention, and I asked a priest at the sanctum to point her out to me.

Bhojaks give *jāt* to other goddesses. Some give *jāt* to Bāyosā (also Bāyāsā and Bāyāṅsā) Mātā. Her shrine is a small, recently constructed and unpretentious brick structure on a small hillock just outside the village behind the Mahāvīra temple. Inside are seven goddess plaques, for Bāyosā Mātā, literally "Revered Little Girl Mother," is the name in Rajasthan for the Seven Sisters (or Seven Mothers, Sanskrit Sapta Mātṛkā). This is a pan-Indian conception of the goddess as a local protector, although the specific names are usually highly localized.[23] This shrine also houses two images of Bherū. In a small wall niche inside the shrine is a Bherū stone covered with red foil, and giving evidence of frequent offerings of oil (a common offering to Bherū). Bhojaks and other high and middle castes give *jāt* to Bāyosā and to this Bherū. Outside the temple is another Bherū stone, to which lower castes offer liquor and goats.

Some Bhojaks give *jāt* to Pīplā Mātā, whose temple is an ancient goddess temple near to the Mahāvīra temple (Plate 29). Pīplā is *kul devī* for several Bhojak patriclans, and they seem to be the people who most patronize her shrine.

Bhojaks also give *jāt* to two male deities. One of these is shared with many other castes in Osian (and Rajasthan), whereas the other is specific to the Bhojaks of Osian.

Kesariyā Kaṅvar (Saffron Prince), also known as Gugā or Gogā (and Ghoghā in Gujarat), is an important deity worshiped throughout Rajasthan, Panjab, and north Gujarat.[24] His local shrine is one of the early temples important to archaeologists and art historians and labeled by them as Viṣṇu Temple Number 1 (Plate 29). Inside this temple is a plaque of the dog-headed serpent deity. Michael Meister did not see it when he first visited Osian in the 1960s, nor did either D.R. Bhandarkar or M.A. Dhaky make written note of its being there. I have a slide of it from a visit in 1987, so this is a relatively recent reuse of this ancient temple.

The other male deity is a Dādosā (Honored Grandfather) or Bhomiyā who is specific to the local Bhojaks. His shrine is located on the side of the hill on which the Sacciyā temple is located, in an area formerly inhabited by Bhojaks. There are two images here of the Dādosā, plaques depicting a man holding a sword in his downturned right hand and a flower garland in his upturned left hand. The more recent image has an inscription dated VS 1880 (1823 CE). We were told the following story concerning this Bhojak Dādosā. The only well for this neighborhood was outside the village, so when going to it most people took a sword or staff for protection. A Bhojak went to the well with his son one evening, at the particularly dangerous liminal time right after sunset, when one needs to be doubly careful about ghosts and other malevolent spirits. The man heard a sound, which he took to be a ghost. He pulled out his sword, and as he did so he accidentally decapitated his young son, who thereby became a Dādosā, a Bhomiyā.

The Nāyaks are a formerly untouchable caste of Rajasthan.[25] The Nāyaks give *jāt* at Roivāle Bherū, at Kesariyā Kaṅvar, and at a Nāyak *bhomiyā* located near the Kesariyā shrine. They also give *jāt* at Sacciyā. Previously they did not give *jāt* to her at the main image in the temple, for they were forbidden entrance into the temple. As a result they gave *jāt* to her at an old pillar outside the entrance to the temple. Many still give *jāt* here as a matter of customary practice. On one occasion when we observed an untouchable family giving *jāt* at this pillar, we asked if they also planned to go inside the main temple. They answered in the affirmative, as if to show that they had as much right to enter the temple as members of higher caste; but when they entered the temple, and became disoriented in the complex set of shrines and levels, it was obvious that they had never been inside the temple before.[26]

These surveys of the circles of deities to whom members of three local castes give *jāt* by no means exhaust the list of deities who reside in Osian. On a stone platform on one side of the main pavilion of the Sacciyā temple is an image of the goddess Śītalā, the "Cool One." Most of the time she is ignored by worshipers, but on the day of Śītalā Eighth (the eighth of the dark half of every month) she is the focus of worship by many young women of Osian and the surrounding area.[27] Young women also come to the temple on the springtime festival Gaṅgaur, a day when they fast to obtain a good husband. A portable metal image of the goddess Gaṅgaur is set up on the platform near the Śītalā image for

worship.[28] In the past two decades a set of temples to the Nine Durgās has come up on the hill surrounding the Sacciyā temple. As of 1998 the set was unfinished and consequently received relatively little attention from worshipers, but the amount of pilgrim attention may well change once they are all completed.[29]

One of the old temples on the plain has been reclaimed as a temple to Śiva sometime before the 1960s, and receives a low level of regular attention. On the Sacciyā Mātā hill an ancient temple was renovated, probably in the second quarter of the twentieth century, as a temple to Saṭya Nārāyaṇa, a form of Viṣṇu. On the main alley running from the Mahāvīra temple to the Sacciyā temple is a temple of Viṣṇu in his cosmic four-armed form as Caturbhuja (containing some medieval images relocated into a more modern structure) that also receives a low level of regular attention. Near the Pīplā Mātā temple next to the Mahāvīra temple is a small shrine of Bālājī, visited by local Māheśvarīs on the occasion of giving *jāt*.[30]

There is a small Jain shrine containing stone footprints of two deceased Jain mendicants on Luṇādrī hill, to the east of the hill on which the Sacciyā temple is located. Luṇādrī hill is important in the Jain history of the site, for supposedly this is where Ratnaprabhasūri stayed while he converted Cāmuṇḍā into Sacciyā and converted the Rājpūts into Osvāl Jains. The shrine is what is known as a *dādābāṛī*. The term *dādābāṛī* (literally "grandfather's garden") is used by Śvetāmbar Mūrtipūjak Jains in Rajasthan to refer to any shrine in a "garden" outside of a residential area. The footprint images are of an otherwise unknown late-thirteenth-century monk named Kanakaprabha,[31] and Ratnaprabhasūri, the ancient monk central to the Jain story of the conversion of both the inhabitants of Osian and Sacciyā herself to Jainism (Plates 28 and 29).[32] As far as we could ascertain, this shrine is visited only by the officiant of the Mahāvīra temple, who comes daily to apply a small amount of sandalwood paste on the toes as veneration.

Undoubtedly there are other shrines which either we did not notice or did not investigate. We studied those temples and shrines to which our attention was called by informants. Nor in our research did we ascertain the perspectives on all these Hindu and Jain temples and deities of the Muslims who live in the neighborhood at the southwest base of the Sacciyā hill.

In giving *jāt* a couple is establishing its relationship as a new child-bearing unit with the deities of that place. In India *who* one is is very much a matter of *where* one is.[33] But where (and therefore who) one is involves elements of both geographical and social location. All Hindus in Osian bear a relationship with Sacciyā, the goddess of the town, and Roivāle Bherū, her Bherū. The centrality of these two deities to the religious life of residents of Osian is underscored by their alternate names of Osiyā Mātā and Osiyā kā Bherū. But each caste also has relationships with deified heroic ancestors, lineage goddesses, and other deities who are specific to that caste (or smaller social unit). The differing circles to whom members of different castes give *jāt* shows how residential identity is social as well as geographical.

Deity as Personally Adored: *Ārādhya Devatā*

Pilgrimage to Sacciyā

The largest number of the Jains who come to Sacciyā are Osvāl Terāpanthī Jains from the Shekhawati region of northern Rajasthan. Terāpanthīs for the most part do not perform *jhaḍūlā*, nor do many of them come to Sacciyā after marriage to give *jāt*. They come here primarily to receive the blessings of the goddess.

The Śvetāmbar Terāpanth is the smallest of the four main Jain sects, and is made up almost entirely of Rajasthani Osvāls. The sect rejects the worship of Jina images in temples and many other aspects of the ritual cultures of the image-worshiping Śvetāmbar Mūrtipūjak Jains. Under the leadership of the late Ācārya Tulsī, the sect has both grown significantly and also been quite successful in adapting its ethics and metaphysics to the demands of modernity.[34]

Knowing the firmness with which Terāpanthīs reject the Mūrtipūjak temple culture, we were surprised to find that Terāpanthīs are the single most prominent group of pilgrims to the Sacciyā temple. The temple complex has seen an extensive construction program over the past several decades, and the prominent inscriptions indicate that this has largely been financed by Terāpanthīs from Shekhawati. The Executive President of the temple trust, himself a Terāpanthī Osvāl with business interests in Jaipur and Kolkata, and son of one of the founders of the trust, said, with little evident hyperbole, that the financial patronage of Sacciyā nowadays is almost exclusively Terāpanthī Osvāl. Many businessmen from this community have made Sacciyā a partner in their firms, so that she receives two, five or even ten percent of the firms' profits.

This same man said that this Terāpanthī Osvāl devotion to Sacciyā dates from only about 1970. While most Osvāls have other goddesses as their lineage goddesses, two patriclans of Shekhawati Osvāls, the Baid-Mehtās and the Copṛās, have Sacciyā as their lineage goddess. A series of miraculous cures, many of cancer, occurred within these patriclans around 1970, all of which were credited to Sacciyā. Devotion to Sacciyā spread first among these patriclans, then among other Osvāl patriclans into which Baid-Mehtā and Copṛā women had married, and finally to other Osvāl patriclans. While Osvāl patriclans are not exclusively Terāpanthī, but include other Śvetāmbar Jains, this particular cult of Sacciyā seems to have been limited to Terāpanthīs.

Due to the charismatic leadership of Ācārya Tulsī and his successor and long-time heir-designate Ācārya Mahāprajñā, many Terāpanthī laity have imbibed the basic Terāpanthī ideology that engagement in Jain ritual activities is fruitless unless it is solely dedicated to liberation (*mokṣa*).[35] Unlike other Jain sects, in which religious activities can have spiritual benefits both in advancing one toward liberation and increasing one's worldly wellbeing (Cort 2001), the Terāpanthī ideology holds that any ritual action done with even the slightest intention of improving one's worldly condition is entirely fruitless, and quite likely even detrimental, in the pursuit of liberation. But the sect has come to define ritual in such a way that it still allows for devotion to non-Jain deities such as

Sacciyā. Several Terāpanthīs whom we interviewed about their devotion to Sacciyā quickly advanced a distinction between religion (*dharma*)—which is focused solely on liberation and involves rituals of meditation, asceticism, and veneration, all done in imitation of the Jinas—and worldly rituals that are not *dharma* and are focused upon "powers" such as Sacciyā. Other deities mentioned in this context included Bherū, Rāmdevṛā, Sālāsar Bālājī, and Kārṇī Mātā. (Sālāsar Bālājī is a popular local deity whose shrine is in Shekhawati [Babb 2004:37-40]. Kārṇī Mātā is a goddess whose shrine is near Bikaner.) They also mentioned many local goddesses, some of them Osvāl lineage goddesses.[36] One informant expressed this distinction in English, "Mahāvīra is our religious deity, Sacciyā Mātā is our family deity."[37] The sect's rejection of worship of Jina images, and the exiling of all rituals aimed at worldly wellbeing from a strictly-defined Jain context, may have even helped focus Terāpanthī attention upon this goddess.

Another informant said that the Terāpanthī monks used to preach against lay worship of goddesses and similar deities, but were losing devotees. Faced with the choice of worshiping a deity who can ensure wealth and health in return, or abandoning that deity to follow a path ostensibly directed only at liberation, many Terāpanthī laity were choosing to pursue tangible pragmatic goals in this life rather than intangible goals in a future life. As a result, the mendicants have down-played their anti-goddess rhetoric, and Terāpanthīs can now participate in the worship of Sacciyā wholeheartedly. For example, Ācārya Tulsī himself wrote, "There is no faith in image worship in the Sthānakvāsī and Terāpanth traditions. But they still worship goddesses, Bālājī, their own lineage deities, and other deities, and make vows to them. This is not done in error. But it is true that these are worldly deities worshiped from a worldly perspective. They have nothing to do with liberation (*mokṣa*), religion (*dharma*), or spirituality (*adhyātma*)" (Tulsī 1995:19).

While Terāpanthī Osvāls are a fairly constant presence at Sacciyā, they are especially conspicuous during the two annual Navrātrīs, the nine-night celebrations of the goddess. At each Navrātrī a different extended family arranges to pay for the observances, in particular the lengthy fire-sacrifice on the eighth night. For many years these families have been exclusively Terāpanthī Osvāls, and there are so many families clamoring for the right to sponsor the observation that the temple trust is being forced to consider how to deal with this demand in an equitable manner. Members of the sponsoring family gather in Osian from their dispersed residences in Jaipur, Delhi, and elsewhere throughout India for the entire nine nights. They reserve for their use most of the block of rooms in the pilgrim guest house on the hill. Every morning and evening they attend the offering of light (*āratī*) to the goddess. When I observed Navrātrī in April 1998, a group of Osvāl young men followed the daily *āratī*s with half-an-hour of vigorous singing of devotional hymns to the goddess. In these songs they asked for help and succor in their lives. There is much here that is generic to temple experience and the worship of the goddess throughout India, albeit manifested with a distinctly mercantile flavor. The songs describe Sacciyā as "Mother of the World" and "Queen of the Three Worlds," who grants her devotees mercy and good fortune.

Give me *darśan* Mother of the World
in your skirt and red scarf,
give me *darśan* Mother of the World.
You are Śiva's queen, the incarnation of Pārvatī,
queen of the three worlds—
good fortune stays forever where you shine.
You are worshiped first of the five deities
both day and night,
give me *darśan* Mother of the World.[38]

Hear my petition
dear Mother of Osian.
Come, sit in my courtyard
in my courtyard
dear Mother of Osian.
Bring hope and faith—
I seek the path.
I have hope, dear Mother,
I have hope every day
but I lose my hope.
Mother, we pass the night in vigil,
Dear Mother of Osian.
Days pass, nights pass, years pass.
Mother, I hang like a garland you have strung.
Mother, I hold out my hands, my fingers of sorrow,
Dear Mother of Osian.
Hear my cry of love dear Mother and come.
Give *darśan* to your devotee, give great joy.
Mother, this devotee clings to your feet.
Dear Mother of Osian.
Dear Mother of Osian, show your mercy.
I give two crores, the rest I deposit.
Hear my song Mother,
Dear Mother of Osian.[39]

Sometimes the assembled Osvāl women, who were quite distinct from the local peasant women due to their expensive silk saris and heavy gold jewelry, joined in the singing. There were also occasional instances of Osvāl women becoming possessed, but these were few, and rather restrained in comparison to possession in other settings in India.[40]

On the eighth night of Navrātrī there was a grand fire sacrifice (*havan*) in the middle of the temple's main pavilion. The couple who performed the sacrifice, aided by a number

of local priests, were the husband who had paid for the nine days' observance and his wife. While there is no clear evidence on the matter, we assume that fifty and more years ago the sacrifice on the eighth night was presided over by the local Bhāṭī Rājpūt *jāgīrdārs* who controlled Osian. It is clear that the observance on this night formerly involved the sacrifice of goats, and on occasion also of a buffalo. All this has changed with the rise of the vegetarian Jain Osvāls to prominence at the Sacciyā temple, although there had earlier also been pressure from the local Hindu Māheśvarī merchants against public performance of animal sacrifice, which was declared illegal in Rajasthan in 1975. The Osvāls' moral emphasis on nonviolence, and the explicit Jain rejection of the offering of animals in sacrifice, have resulted in the main sacrifice now being a strictly vegetarian one, although everyone admitted that there may well be privately conducted animal sacrifices to Sacciyā outside the temple complex, and so outside the control of the temple trustees. This was underscored at the conclusion of the sacrifice, when the priests and patrons made sure that all the ingredients were offered into the fire in a final inferno, all the while loudly proclaiming "*pūrṇ āhuti, pūrṇ āhuti*." While this phrase, which literally means "the sacrifice is complete," is the standard concluding utterance in most fire sacrifices, in this case it also underscored that there was no additional secret offering (of animals) elsewhere.[41]

Pilgrimage to Mahāvīra

The largest of the Jain sects is that of the Svetāmbar Mūrtipūjaks ("Image-Worshipers"), also known in Rajasthan as Mandirmārgīs and Derāvāsīs ("Temple-Goers").[42] As the name indicates, their religious culture centers on the institution of the temple and the images of the Jinas enshrined therein. Many Mūrtipūjak Jains throughout western India know of the Mahāvīra temple in Osian. This temple is not itself a major pilgrimage goal, but it is an important stopping point for Jains on pilgrimage tours of Rajasthan. This is in part due to the acknowledged beauty of the temple and the image, and the well-known antiquity of both, but also due to the lodging and dining facilities in an area otherwise largely devoid of Jain temples and pilgrim facilities.

A comparison of Osian with other Jain pilgrimage shrines in Rajasthan helps us understand the range of reasons why people go on pilgrimage to an adored deity. Abu and Ranakpur are famous as masterworks of Indian temple architecture. Many Jains echo the opinion of art historians that one goes to Abu to admire the details of the stone carving, and to Ranakpur to admire the total effect of the architecturally complex temple. In a similar fashion Jains go to Jaisalmer to admire the carvings on the five Jain temples in the fort, and then to compare these with the carvings on the nineteenth-century stone *havelīs* (mansions) built by Jain millionaires in the city. Jaisalmer has also played a central role in the religious geographic imagination of western Indian Śvetāmbar Jains, as a bastion of Jain culture and site of some of its most important manuscript libraries, for hundreds of years. Abu, Ranakpur, and Jaisalmer are sites in which one can combine the earning of religious merit with aesthetic enjoyment.

But far more Jain pilgrims in Rajasthan go to Kesariyaji and in particular Nakora. Kesariyaji, in southern Rajasthan near Udaipur, is the site of an image of the Jina Ādinātha, first Jina of this era, that is described by one pilgrim guidebook as "beautiful, wonder-working, and fulfilling of devotees' desires." The guidebook goes on to say, "Here many new miraculous experiences are related by devotees. Devotees who have the aspiration to come here find their desires fulfilled" (*Tīrth Darśan* 1980:186). Nakora is even more popular. The devotional focus is not a Jina image, but the wonder-working protector deity Nākoṛā Bherū. So famous is this deity that Nakora is now one of the best-known, most-visited, and wealthiest Jain temples in Rajasthan, even though the temple's location in the desert outside of Balotra makes it less easily accessible than many other temples.

Temples and deities are significant magnets for pilgrims to the extent that they are famous for miracles, usually related either to health or obtaining wealth. The Jain temple at Osian lacks any such renown and so does not attract many pilgrims. Sacciyā Mātā is the deity in Osian with healing powers, and so draws far larger crowds of worshipers. Most Jains who visit the Mahāvīra temple do so while en route to more popular shrines. The Jain temple at Osian does have several features that could lean toward the wonder-working and desire-fulfilling features of more popular temples. The main image of Mahāvīra is said to have been made from clay and cow's milk by Sacciyā herself (or, in some accounts, the Jain goddess Cakreśvarī). In a side shrine is an image of the snake-deity Puniyā Bābā, the protector deity of the shrine. Neither Mahāvīra nor Puniyā Bābā, nor their images, however, currently exhibits any of the extraordinary powers of those at Nakora and Kesariyaji, and as a result few pilgrims come any significant distance specifically to this temple.

Some Gujarati Jains with whom I spoke about Osian, especially those who were not Osvāls, were ignorant of the existence of the temple of Sacciyā. They had visited Osian as part of group pilgrimages by bus, stopping only to worship at the Mahāvīra temple and perhaps spend the night at the pilgrim resthouse. Gujarati Osvāls might be aware of the role Sacciyā played in the creation of the caste, but here also I encountered a range of attitudes toward the goddess's temple, from a willingness to visit it, to the insistence of one knowledgeable man (who was a Gujarati Osvāl), who had visited the Jain temple on many occasions, that no Jain should go near the goddess temple due to the practice of animal sacrifices. In addition, as mentioned above, Sacciyā is *kul devī* for only a small number of Osvāl patriclans; in the case of those Osvāls who have another goddess as their *kul devī*, such as Āśāpurā, Susvāṇī, or Sindu-Morkhāṇā, it is quite likely that they have never heard of Sacciyā.[43]

Over the course of the past century, many of the Śvetāmbar Mūrtipūjak pilgrims to the Mahāvīra temple have been from the relatively small Mūrtipūjak congregations of Marwar. For several years in the late nineteenth century, the trust was under the guidance of Jodhpur Mūrtipūjak Jains, and many of them come here on the occasion of the annual festival of the temple in the spring. For most of the past century the temple has been under

the guidance of Jains from Phalodi, and pilgrims from Phalodi (even if they now are resident in Mumbai or Chennai) are also conspicuous in the annual festival. Another "catchment area" consists of alumni of the school attached to the temple. This school was established in the early years of the twentieth century by several monks to insure a resident Jain presence at the temple. Most of the students now are not Jain, but for many years Jains from surrounding villages made up a significant proportion of the student body. While many, and perhaps even a majority, of these Jain boys came from Sthānakvāsī households, they had to perform daily *pūjā* in the temple as a requirement for attending the school.[44] Many of these alumni are still involved in the affairs of the temple, and attend the annual festival, which coincides with a major school function.

Whereas Sacciyā and other non-liberated deities are understood by Jains to be active deities, who respond directly to the petitions of the devotee, the Jina is understood to be inactive and unresponsive. Instead, the devotee's spiritual condition is improved as a result of a reflexive meditation upon the spiritual values embodied in the image of the Jina.[45] The many hymns Jains sing before images in temples express the goal of awakening in the devotee right faith in the Jain teachings. These teachings are symbolized by the image of the Jina, who for Jains is the only deity to be worshiped (*ārādhnā*) for progress along the path to liberation. A hymn dedicated to the Mahāvīra of Osian says that bowing to Mahāvīra "will always purify your soul" and "removes lust, anger, and ignorance from everyone."[46] One does not receive anything from the Jina in response to worship, for the Jina has nothing to give. Instead, through the act of worship the Jain awakens to right knowledge concerning how to act in the world, and as a result acts in a virtuous manner.

Fluid Theologies

I started this chapter by asking why Hindus and Jains in Rajasthan go on pilgrimage. As we have seen, the answer to this question quickly takes us into the complexities of Hindu and Jain theology, for the answer varies according to the contextualizing factors of kinship, geography, and spiritual orientation. The analysis of deities, images, temples, and pilgrimage shrines involves fluid categories. There are almost as many reasons why people go on pilgrimage as there are pilgrims. The framework of lineage, place, and adoration that I have used is a provisional one, and we found in conversations with informants that these categories easily slid into each other. Attempts on our part to reify and fix these categories in the interest of conceptual clarity were regularly frustrated by our informants. We started our research with the idea that these categories, and especially those of lineage deity and place deity, are fairly fixed. In the course of research, we had to accept that they are fluid, although not in a totally unbounded fashion.

In part this is because the categories of kinship and place themselves are fluid categories in western India, as our efforts to understand better the intricacies of caste organization proved.[47] For some people, kinship and residence are almost synonymous. This is not surprising, since many caste and patriclan names are place names, indicating that a kinship group is frequently defined as those blood relatives who come from a

common place. In this case, lineage deities and place deities are largely the same. But the history of western India is a history of nearly incessant migration. Most people are "really" from somewhere else, and so one usually finds a discontinuity between lineage deities and place deities. As one moves, one's family may retain a connection with one or more deities of one's "original" place that is activated on the occasion of crucial lifecycle rituals.[48] How extensive this connection is will depend on a variety of factors, including proximity, wonder-working powers of the deity, and the simple fact that some people are more interested than others in genealogical matters. People establish connections with the deities where they reside, and these local connections can also be activated in lifecycle rituals.

One day we were discussing with an officiant at the Sacciyā temple the circles of deities to whom Osian residents give *jāt*. He turned to a local man who was listening to our conversation, and for a moment became an ethnographer himself. He asked the man where his family gave *jāt*. The man explained that he was by origin a Sīkhvāl Brahman from Merta, and his lineage goddess (*kul devī*) was Brahmāṇī. But since he now was settled in Osian, his family gave *jāt* according to the local traditions, and so gave to Sacciyā, Kesariyā Kaṅvar, and Roivāle Bherū. We see in this example how familial and geographical identities are intertwined.

There is also a connection between the categories of place deity and adored deity. As we saw, deities are frequently known by the name of their place, and so in Osian there are Osiyā Mātā, Osiyā kā Bherū, and Osiyā-Maṇḍan Mahāvīra. People from afar for whom Sacciyā occupies a special place in their devotional universe will refer to her by her place-specific name. This specificity can even be transferred, and so one finds, for example, an image of Osiyā Mātā in the Hathising Jain temple in Ahmedabad. There are also at least six other Sacciyā temples: in Barmer, Juna, Rajaldesar, Churu, and Sirohi in Rajasthan, and Gundala in Kacch. If the Osian Mahāvīra was a wonder-working image, one would find images and temples of Osiyā Mahāvīra elsewhere, as one finds, for example, temples of the wonder-working Kesariyā Ādinātha and Śaṅkheśvar Pārśvanātha throughout western India.[49]

We have also seen how for some people the categories of lineage deity and adored deity overlap. For some Osvāl patriclans Sacciyā is both their lineage goddess and their adored goddess.

But not all deities can occupy these categories in the same way. Sacciyā easily is seen by differing people as a lineage, place, and adored goddess, and for some people she is at once all three. Other deities, however, are more restricted in their identities. Roivāle Bherū is primarily a place deity; his role in lifecycle rites is not as a lineage deity, but as a place deity. No one characterized him as an adored deity. Mahāvīra is primarily an adored deity. He is definitely not a lineage deity. Even the specificity of his location in Osian is rather tenuous: most of the songs sung to him are generic Jain devotional songs to Mahāvīra or the Jina in the abstract, and there is no repertoire of songs specifically to Osiyā Mahāvīra. In this Mahāvīra shares features with Jain temples and images throughout western India, for they rarely function purely as place deities, and even less often as lineage deities.[50]

Why a person goes on pilgrimage depends on who that person is—and a person in India is defined as much by kinship and geography as by personal or even shared spiritual orientation.[51] Hindus and Jains understand themselves in multiple ways. Which aspect of their "personality" is foregrounded on any occasion depends on context. That context is both shaped by and itself helps to shape relationships with deities. Hindus and Jains in Rajasthan, therefore, go on pilgrimage because they are born into kin groups that have long-standing relationships with specific lineage goddesses. They go on pilgrimage because they reside in a place, and that residence entails relationships with specific geographically defined deities. Finally, they go on pilgrimage because of adoration for a deity who is a sacred focus of meaning and value.

Notes

1. On pilgrimage in general, see Turner 1973, Turner and Turner 1978, Stoddard and Morinis 1997, and Barnes and Branfoot 2006. Llewellyn 1998 provides an overview of recent literature on Hindu pilgrimage. Gold 1988 remains the best single study of pilgrimage in Rajasthan.
2. This chapter does not deal with pilgrimage to living holy persons, on which see, among others, McCormick 1997.
3. On the concept of the "sacred complex" see Vidyarthi 1978, Vidyarthi, Saraswati, and Jha 1979, and Vidyarthi and Jha 1974.
4. See Huyler 1999:64–113 for a lengthy analysis of Hindu polytheism using this typology.
5. See Babb 1996:137–73 and 2004:141–84, and Cort 2004 on the Osvāls. The differences among castes that call themselves Osvāl are such that it would be inaccurate to label all Osvāls as members of a single caste; nor does historical evidence allow for a definitive answer as to whether there was ever a single coherent Osvāl social unit.
6. This is the rite known in Sanskrit as *muṇḍana*.
7. "Giving *jāt*" is a generic term in Marwar for this ritual as performed by all castes, and etymologically has nothing to do with the caste name. In Devanagari script, the ritual is spelled *jāt* and the caste is spelled *jāṭ*.
8. See Eck 1998 on this ritual.
9. A well or other body of water is a safe place to dispose of any object that is either very sacred or potentially dangerous. John D. Smith (1991:52) describes how the *bhopo* (also spelled *bhopā*) bards of Rajasthan who sing the epic of Pābūjī take old *paṛ*s (more often spelled *phaṛ*), the narrative scrolls understood to be inhabited by the deity Pābūjī himself, to Pushkar, where they deposit them in the lake. Old images and temple flags are similarly deposited in bodies of water. He adds, "If Pushkar is too far away, a good well may be used instead" (ibid.). Detached parts of the body, such as hair and nails, which are impure and inauspicious and which might be used for black magic should they fall into someone else's hands, are disposed of in a similar fashion. In both cases, of pure but now old holy images, and of impure bodily ejecta, immersion in sacred water serves to make the object "cool" (*ṭhaṇḍā*), and thereby removes its power.
10. See Bharucha 2003:185–97, Binford and Camerini 1974, Khan 1997, and Kothari 1982:17–18.
11. There were in fact two *jāgīr*s in Osian, held by different branches of the same extended family.
12. See Harlan 2003:158–63 for more on this deified heroic ancestor.

13. See Bharucha 2003:105–08, Harlan 2003, and Kothari 1982:4–15.
14. See Gold 1988:64–79, Harlan 1992:197–99 and 2003, and Kothari 1982:13. As Harlan (2003:4–16) notes, there is significant overlap between the categories of *bhomiyā* and *jhunjhār*.
15. Bherū is also oftentimes called Khetarpāl (Sanskrit Kṣetrapāla) or Khetlāu, "Guardian of the Site," and the iconography of the two is largely the same. See Harlan 2003:16 and 135. The local role played by Bherū in Marwar falls to Bālājī in Shekawati in northern Rajasthan, and to either Ghoghā Bāpjī (Cort 2001:33) or various Vīrs in northern Gujarat.
16. While classically oriented text-based scholarship oftentimes stresses the mythic connections between Bherū (Sanskrit Bhairava), also called Bhairon, and Śiva, this relationship is fairly negligible on the local cultic level. On Bherū in Rajasthan see Gold 1988, Harlan 2003:135–48 and 197–204, Kothari 1982:2–24.
17. The Bherū directly associated with the Sacciyā temple is also bilocational. There is an iconic image in a niche next to the main sanctum, and an aniconic image in a small shrine on the plateau behind the temple (along with an image of Bālājī in an adjoining shrine). To add further complexity to these issues, one informant firmly denied that Roivāle Bherū is Sacciyā's Bherū; he said that her Bherū is the Bherū at Mandor just to the north of Jodhpur, which he said is visited by Osvāls from Godwar.
18. The Jains who manage the Mahāvīra temple are clearly ambivalent about the presence of this Bherū. One day we were shown around the temple by the Secretary of the temple trust; he made no mention of the Bherū until we called his attention to it, whereupon he dismissed it as an image that belonged to "other people." The small altar for the Bherū is in a rather dilapidated condition, and receives no mention in any of the literature on the temple. But clearly the Jains are unwilling to remove the image, for to do so would alienate many local Osian residents. While no one expressed it in this way, I suspect that there is a perception that to remove the image might also endanger the temple. Bherūs are commonly found in Jain temples as protectors of the temple and the surrounding neighborhood. This role is clearly expressed in an alternate name by which some call Bherū: Khetarpāl or Khetlāu (Sanskrit Kṣetrapāla), the protector of the vicinity. This identity between the two is also expressed iconographically. Whereas most images of Bherū consist of aniconic rocks covered with vermillion paste, when Bherū is given iconic form in a carved image the iconography is indistinguishable from that of the deity frequently labeled as Khetarpāl.

    When we asked the Secretary of the Jain temple trust about the Bherū, he deflected the question by turning to the nearby image of Puniyā Bābā. He claimed this was the snake that bit Prince Uhaṛ; Ratnaprabhasūri's revival of the seemingly dead boy was instrumental in the conversion of the Osvāls from meat-eating Rājpūts to vegetarian Jains. But we never saw anyone make a special offering to this deity. There is a rule, similar to that found at shrines of other Jain unliberated deities such as Ghaṇṭākarṇ Mahāvīr at Mahudi in north Gujarat (Cort 1997 and 2000), and Nākoṛā Bherū at Nakora in southwest Rajasthan, that no *prasād* offered to Puniyā Bābā can be taken outside the confines of the temple compound, but this would appear to be largely a theoretical matter.
19. See Cort 2001:58–59.
20. There is extensive literature on the Bhojaks, although a focused ethnography on them remains to be written. See, among other sources, Cort 2001:58–60, Singh 1895:320–26, and von Stietencron 1966.
21. See Fuller 1984:49–71, Heesterman 1985:26–44, Quigley 1993:54–86.
22. Here we see one of the functions of ornamentation: to distinguish one image from another, and to guide the eye of the pilgrim, for whom all the visual data are largely homogenous and therefore indistinct and confusing, to that which is centrally important. See the comments of David Freedberg (1989:119), that an aim of elaborate ornamentation "is to reinforce the implicit claim that it is this particular image and not another that works in such and such a miraculous or beneficent way."

23. See Harlan 1992:82–83 and Kothari 1982:26–27.
24. There is extensive literature on Kesariyā Kaṅvar. See, among others, Blackburn et al. 1989:224–27, Khan 1997:232–33, Kothari 1982:18, Lapoint 1978, Pemārām 1977:31–36, and Temple 1884–1900:I:121–209.
25. Rajasthani Nāyaks are different from the middle-caste Nāyaks of Gujarat, who are a caste of musicians and actors, and who intermarry with Bhojaks (Cort 2001:59–60).
26. Further evidence of the gradual change in patterns of untouchable entry into Sacciyā is that an untouchable Meghvāl is on the board of trustees, and a local Meghvāl erected a large image of Bherū on the steps leading up the hill. But in discussion with a Bhojak employee of the trust about images of Bherū on the hill, he completely overlooked this one until I reminded him of it. Installing an image at a shrine does not automatically change everyone else's perceptions of the sacred geography of the site.
27. On Śītalā, see Gold 1994:46 and 62–63, and the sources she cites.
28. On Gaṅgaur see Erdman 1985:165–81.
29. Invoking the category of the Nine Durgās is a strategy for integrating a local goddess temple into a pan-Indian understanding of the goddess. We also saw this at the Dadhimatī temple. The classical reference to the Nine Durgās is in the *Kavaca* (or *Durgā Kavaca*), an appendix to the *Devī Māhātmya* (or *Durgā Saptaśati*) (Coburn 1991:175). There are variant lists of the names of the nine goddesses; see also Slusser 1999.
30. While Bālājī is identified with Hanumān, at the local cultic level he is more of a protector deity than an associate of the Purāṇic deity Rāma, and an undue focus on the textual understandings of Hanumān obscures the many ways that Bālājī overlaps with Bherū and various Vīrs ("heroes"). On Hanumān and Bālājī, see Lutgendorf 2007. See also Kakar (1982:53–88) on a Bālājī shrine in eastern Rajasthan.
31. The inscription is given by Handa (1984:224). It briefly relates the death in meditation in VS 1246 (1189 CE) of Kanakaprabha Mahattara, the disciple of Jinabhadra Upādhyāya. While both of these are fairly common names for medieval Śvetāmbar monks, I have been unable to find any reference to a teacher-disciple pair with these names who lived in the late twelfth century.
32. The footprints of Ratnaprabhasūri were installed on a platform above the earlier set in 1909 by Yati Premsundar of the Upkeś Gacch at the instruction of Muni Jñānsundar (Plate 3). The shrine was later renovated (*jīrṇoddhār*) in 1952 by one Manaklāl, a resident of Phalodi. Handa 1984:232.
33. See Cort 2000:112 and Daniel 1984.
34. See Flügel 1995-96 and Vallely 2002 on the Terāpanth.
35. For statements of the basic Terāpanthī position, which was in large part the basis for the formation of the sect by Ācārya Bhikṣu (Bhikhaṇ) in the eighteenth century, see Mahāprajñā 1993:90–115; Mahāprajñā 1994:18–32; and Mahendra Kumar 1994:4–6, 20–28.
36. The devotion evident from Terāpanthī laity to their *ācārya*s, both living and deceased, expressed both in pilgrimage and monetary donation, indicates that in spite of this ideology there is most likely a strong sense that devotion to the *ācārya*s insures worldly wellbeing also. Some Terāpanthīs on pilgrimage tours around Rajasthan mentioned Sacciyā and the "non-Jain" deities in the same tone as their visits to the *samādhi sthal*s (cremation sites) of the late Ācārya Tulsi and Ācārya Bhikhaṇ (the eighteenth-century founder of the Terāpanth), and the living presence of the current Ācārya Mahāprajñā. This is an area of Terāpanthī culture that needs to be researched, as recent research on Terāpanthīs has focused almost exclusively upon the mendicants and the normative Terāpanthī ideology.
37. But due to the anti-temple position of the Terāpanth, this man did not visit the temple of Mahāvīra in Osian.

38. *Bhajan Mālā* (n.d.), p. 12.
39. *Bhajan Mālā* (n.d.), p. 56.
40. Here we see Jain, merchant caste, and urban middle class emphases on decorum and control expressed even in so seemingly "personal" an experience as possession by the goddess.
41. This is just one example of a broader pattern of the gradual "Baniyaization" of religion in Rajasthan in the decades since Indian Independence, as vegetarian Baniyās (merchant castes) increasingly are coming to prominence over meat-eating Rājpūts. See Babb 2004:231–33.
42. The majority of Jains in Marwar, however, are not Mūrtipūjaks, as the iconoclastic Sthānakvāsīs have been in the majority here for at least the past century.
43. We also encountered several instances of Jains now resident far from Rajasthan who had lost all knowledge of their *kul devī*s, and having heard of Sacciyā had come in a search for their socio-religious roots. After we witnessed one such family inquire from a temple *pujārī* as to whether or not Sacciyā was their *kul devī*, the *pujārī* informed us that he regularly gets such inquiries (and also inquiries as to the residence of patriclan genealogists or Rāvs), and has gained enough knowledge of these details of Osvāl identity that he is frequently able to direct such pilgrims elsewhere.
44. The majority of the Śvetāmbar Jains in this part of Rajasthan are Sthānakvāsī, but many of these Sthānakvāsī congregations for much of this century have not been absolutely strict in their rejection of the temple cult (Guṇsundar 1939:I,248; I,718), perhaps reflecting the earlier influence in Rajasthan of the image-worshiping branch of the Loṅkā Gacch based in Bikaner.
45. See Babb 1996:174–95 and Cort 2001:93–99 on the theology that underlies Jain worship of images of the Jina.
46. "Hymn to Mahāvīra Who Adorns Osian" (*Osiyāṃ Maṇḍan Mahāvīr kā Stavan*). This hymn is from book 687 in the collection of the Jñānsundar Pustak Bhaṇḍār in Jodhpur. It has no cover or title page. It contains hymns for use in the Varddhmān Jain Vidyālay, the Jain boarding school in Osian, and was published in the twenty-third year of the school, circa 1938 CE. They are in standard Hindi, not the local Marwari, and so I surmise that they were composed in the 1930s by a schoolmaster.
47. Some informants attributed this fluidity of understandings of *jāti*, *kul*, *gotra*, and related categories to the effects of modernity, in particular education and migration. A careful reading of the available historical evidence, however, indicates that they have always been highly fluid, and in many ways have become more reified over the past century due to the efforts of "reformers." See Babb 2004 and chapter nine in this volume.
48. This sense of "origin" is expressed in an especially clear manner in Gujarati, where one speaks of one's ancestral place as one's *mūḷ vatan*, "root residence." The metaphor of a tree with its roots, trunk, and branches, is common to genealogies in India, Europe, and North America. This arboreal metaphor is vividly expressed at the temple of Dadhimatī Mātā. On a wall of the compound surrounding the temple is a painting of a tree depicting the 144 branches of the Dāhimā Brahman caste, descended from their root ancestor.
49. On the latter, see Cort 1988.
50. There are, however, some exceptions to this generalization. In Jaipur five Jain temples are characterized as *pañcāyatī* temples. There is at least one for each Jain image-worshiping sect (both Śvetāmbar and Digambar), and several informants said that in earlier times every Jain belonged to a particular *pañcāyatī* temple where the family would record births, marriages, and deaths. I also know of one case of Jains performing *muṇḍan* at a Jain temple: many Digambar Jains perform this rite at the temple of Mahāvīrjī in Karauli district. Formerly this rite was performed on the main steps of the temple. In recent years the temple trust has erected a platform a little distance away from the temple,

next to a shrine containing only the image of the Jina's footprints (not a fully iconic image); but it has not attempted to forbid the practice.

There is one other way in which a Jain image can function as a *kul* and *sthānīya* deity. I know of at least three cases—Mahāvīrjī, the Digambar temple at Padampura in Jaipur district (Nyāytīrth 1997:91-95), and Kesariyā Ādināthā (Humphrey 1991)—where the Jina image is simultaneously identified by local non-Jains as a different deity (respectively Cāndanpurvāle Bābā, Bāṛāvāle Bābā, and Kariā Bābā), and worshiped by them for removing troubles and bringing worldly well-being, and on lifecycle occasions.

51. Ramanujan 1999a is an excellent discussion of the Indian context-sensitive conception of the person.

7

Patronage, Authority, Proprietary Rights, and History

Communities and Pilgrimage Temples in Western India

JOHN E. CORT

The study of medieval Indian temples has focused largely on structures created, endowed, and sustained through royal patronage, as signs of royal prestige, political aspirations, and devotion. The western Indian temples of Sacciyā Mātā and Mahāvīra in Osian, Dadhimatī Mātā in Goth-Manglod, and Raṇchoḍjī in Khed all exhibit an importantly different pattern. Whatever may have been the nature of their original construction and endowment, they have survived for a thousand years due not to exclusively royal support, but largely due to the support and devotion of specific caste communities. In our research we were interested in exploring ways in which the connections between these temples and the caste communities that worship at them could provide insights into institutional continuities in Indian society and culture. Our assumption was that the specific connections between castes and the deities enthroned in these temples could explain both the continuing importance of these temples, and perhaps even their very survival—a rather remarkable fact when one considers how few temples of such antiquity have survived as active religious centers in India.

Our research uncovered much information that challenges a too ready attribution of continuities of caste or community patronage. The currently prevalent origin narrative of the Osian Mahāvīra temple focuses in part on its abandonment in medieval times and then its rediscovery and renovation in the late-nineteenth century. According to the version

published by the temple trust, which therefore functions as something of an "official history," what had been a royal capital gradually declined into a small market town, and the Osvāl Jains who had originally lived there emigrated (Vārṣṇey 1988). Due to the total lack of Osvāl inhabitants, the very existence of the temple was eventually forgotten by the Jains. Not until the Jain monk Muni Mohanlāl came to Osian in 1878 was the existence of the temple rediscovered by Jains. One imaginative written version of Mohanlāl's rediscovery relates that the temple was completely covered in sand and lost. One morning Mohanlāl went to perform his morning ablutions in the uninhabited scrub outside the village. As he squatted in the desert, he looked up. Only then did he see the golden finial of the spire, and realized there was still a Jain temple in Osian (Mṛgendramuni 1964).[1] According to the official history, Mohanlāl arranged for the temple to be renovated by Jodhpur and later Phalodi Jains, and the site was thus restored to the Jain pilgrimage geography of western India.

Similarly, one narrative—albeit not the best known one—of the Dadhimatī temple also tells of its near abandonment and then its renovation in the mid-nineteenth century. According to this story, which I have seen in only one source (Vaidya 1988), the Dāhimā Brahman renouncer Viṣṇudās came to the site, and in his presence the ground broke open and the spire of an ancient temple emerged.[2] After various other events, Viṣṇudās got the king of Udaipur to clear the jungle and renovate the temple between 1849 and 1851. This would seem to indicate that according to this one source the temple was in a decrepit and at least semi-deserted state in the early nineteenth century, although the simple fact that Viṣṇudās came to the site indicates that it was still alive in Dāhimā sacred geography.[3]

Several of the temples give other evidence of discontinuities in terms of caste worship and patronage. Sacciyā in Osian has long been described as the *kul devī* of the Osvāls, and so her temple has been tied to the origin narrative of the Osvāls. But our research indicated that while Sacciyā has been important for some Osvāl *gotra*s (patriclans) for many centuries, the Osian temple was largely in the hands of its Bhojak priests, and patronage may have been more from local Bhāṭī Rājpūts, Māheśvarīs, and other castes than from non-local Osvāls. Dadhimatī has presumably always been worshiped by Dāhimā Brahmans who lived in the region around the villages of Goth and Manglod, between which the temple is located. But again, research indicated that it was also important in ritual terms to local non-Dāhimā Brahman castes, especially Biḍyāsar Jāṭs, and control may have been in the hands of non-Dāhimā *pujārī*s (or else one specific group of Dāhimā *pujārī*s) up until the early twentieth century. Similarly, the construction of *dharmśālā*s (pilgrim resthouses) and other facilities at the site in this century by Māheśvarīs, Khātīs, Svarṇkārs, and other castes indicates that members of these castes also attach importance to Dadhimatī.

In other words, it quickly emerged in our research that "continuity" was a very problematic term. The histories of these temples evince not clear-cut continuities of patronage, but rather on-going contestations of patronage, worship, and control—all revolving around basic understandings of authority (*adhikār*) over the temple itself, over

worship at the temple, and over the material and spiritual resources embodied in and attached to the temple. These contested claims involve differing understandings of the relationships between the deity and castes, between worshipers and worshiped, and between donor and donated. All of the claims also employ two types of evidence: (1) on-the-ground social realities of who lives around the temple, who worships at the temple, who conducts the rites at the temple, and who pays for the upkeep and renovation of the temple; and (2) narratives detailing historical connections among the temple, the deity, and the community in question.

Authority, proprietary rights, and history thus emerged as a set of interwoven themes that appeared and re-appeared throughout the course of our research. In part they would emerge in the study of any temple and its relationships with various communities; but these themes emerged in specific ways in our research in part because the four temples that were the foci for our research were chosen due to their historical importance for art historians, archaeologists, and historians of religion in South Asia. That these temples are important in the religious and architectural history of western India means that "history" inevitably was going to be an important category in our research. The academic conceptions of history used by scholars only partially overlap with conceptions of history used by communities staking claims to rights of worship and management of these temples, and understanding the differing uses and definitions of "history" as a category of analysis was important in our research.[4]

To state this point in another way, a basic question that has arisen in our research can be put as follows: Who has proprietary rights (*svatva*, *svāmitva*) at a temple? This is not necessarily a matter of ownership in an exclusive sense; proprietary rights at a temple or other sacred site in India can be multiple and overlapping, although one does on occasion find exclusivist claims.[5] Who has rights can be a disputed question in temples as old as the four which we have studied, and clearly during the more than ten centuries these temples have been in existence different groups have had various kinds of control and proprietary rights. In the twentieth century all of these temples have seen different groups successfully (and unsuccessfully) claiming rights at the temples. In this typological chapter, I explore some of the different claims we have seen advanced in the cases of these four temples, as well as claims not advanced in these cases but evidenced from other temples in India. Attention to the details of such claims will allow us better to understand the social histories of temples in South Asia.

Temple Priests

These claims can take several forms. At their simplest, they are based on the continuity of the priests' service (*sevā*) to the temple, service long preceding the establishment of any of the organizations now legally running the temples. At the Sacciyā temple, for example, the Bhojak *pujārī*s claim special rights at the temple, saying that they were originally brought to Osian from Mundiyar (near Nagaur) to be the servants of the goddess when the Rājpūts were converted into Osvāls. This claim is reinforced by the preṣence in the central shrine,

to the left of the main image of Sacciyā, of an image of Mundiyāṛ Mātā, the *kul devī* of the Mundiyāṛ lineage of Bhojaks serving the temple. They claim to have brought this image with them from Mundiyar. According to another Bhojak source (Śarmā n.d.), the *pujārīs* are descendants of the Brahmans who were appointed to worship the goddess at the time of the creation of the Osvāls. This source, who was the chief priest of the temple for several decades, and one of the founders of the current temple trust, also said that the second goddess in the sanctum is Vaiṣṇāvī, not Mundiyāṛ. There are obviously multiple accounts of the connection between the Bhojaks and Sacciyā.

In some cases these are exclusivist claims, that the *pujārīs* are in total control over the temple. In other cases they are partial claims, that the *pujārīs* have hereditary rights at the temple that cannot be alienated by twentieth-century trustees.[6] We see the latter at the Jain temple of Ranakpur, where the *pujārīs* have successfully claimed that they have rights of service granted to their direct ancestors by the temple's builder Dharaṇā Śāha in the fifteenth century. Many Jain temples in western India have seen protracted struggles between Jain trusts and non-Jain *pujārīs* over the nature of such hereditary rights, with the trusts trying to minimize and even eliminate such rights in order to exert more control over the temples.

In some cases priests try to claim that their position as servants (*sevak*) puts them in a special relationship with the deity. These claims are often rendered less persuasive by the low status accorded to temple priests throughout India.[7] While claims by the priests to exclusive proprietary rights have been advanced in relation to many temples in India, they have seldom if ever been successful, in part because other claims are considered more pertinent, and partly because priests are rarely able to mobilize sufficient resources to press their claims successfully. One prominent exception to this which we studied is the temple of Sālāsar Bālājī in Shekhawati: the Dāhimā Brahman *pujārīs* of this temple have successfully established that it is private property.[8] Similarly, the Dīkṣitar *pujārīs* of the Naṭarāja temple at Cidambaram in Tamil Nadu have successfully established in the courts their rights to manage that temple (Younger 1995:16–17). Thus we see that the category of claims of temple priests to special proprietary rights slides into the category of the claim that a temple is private property, which I discuss below.

At Dadhimatī the priests claimed exclusive rights over the temple early in the twentieth century, but lost a court case on the issue in 1918. The evidence is sketchy, as we only have a few Dāhimā sources, but it appears that the Parāsar *pujārīs* claimed that they had organized the temple, a claim which the Dāhimā Mahāsaḅhā successfully defeated.[9] A recently published seventh-century inscription, interpreted by its Dāhimā editor to refer to Dāhimā contributions to the original building of the temple, was key evidence against the *pujārīs*.[10] That the Dāhimā Mahāsabhā was represented by prominent officials of several royal courts of Rajasthan, while the *pujārīs* were represented by four of their number from the village of Dugastau which is nearby the temple, and who were undoubtedly less-well educated and less-well connected, was probably also significant in determining the outcome of the court proceedings.

At Sacciyā the Bhojak priests were largely in control of the temple until the early 1970s, although it is unclear whether or not this control was to some extent shared with the local Bhāṭī Rājpūt *jāgīrdār*s and the locally dominant Māheśvarīs. Whatever control the Bhojaks exercised was a matter of customary practice, without the benefit of a legally constituted temple trust. Without such a trust there was the risk of the state government taking over the temple, and so a trust was formed with representation from a broad social base. The priests have gradually lost power in the trust to factions representing other local castes and non-local donors. The extent of the Bhojaks' proprietary rights at the temple has been a source of friction in recent years. The *pujārī*s have formed a union, and briefly went on strike during the spring 1998 Navrātrī to press their demand for the reopening of a stairway leading directly off the back of the hill to their residential neighborhood, which had been closed several years earlier to prevent robberies. The gradual decrease in the number of Bhojaks on the trust, and the forming of a union, both indicate a shift in control over the temple from the *pujārī*s to wealthier patrons, and a restriction of the sphere of the Bhojaks' proprietary rights. These rights used to involve control over matters such as renovations and construction, but now involve only more narrowly circumscribed ritual matters.

All four of these temples evidently were largely in the hands of local priests throughout much of the nineteenth century. At all four, other groups, with either regional or national support, successfully challenged this control, with the result that the rights of the priests have been reduced largely to control over the liturgy and rituals.

Local Dominant Caste

This claim can be stated as follows: "Our caste is socially dominant in the area surrounding the temple, and controls (or is dominant in) many local institutions; therefore we should control (or be dominant over) the temple as well."[11] There is no clear example of this claim in connection with any of the four temples we studied. Some Dāhimā informants said that the Jāṭ agriculturalists around Dadhimatī had tried to make such a claim early in the twentieth century, but further investigation would seem to indicate this wasn't fully the case. After Independence, and the rise to political prominence in the area of the formerly disempowered agricultural Jāṭs, it appears that an important Jāṭ politician tried unsuccessfully to have a Jāṭ boarding school established within the temple precincts. What also appears to have occurred is that the Jāṭs claimed that as the dominant community of the area they had the rights to the land surrounding the temple, both agricultural and mining land, from which the temple derived income.

To a certain extent this does appear to be a relevant model for understanding the Raṇchoḍjī temple at Khed. There it is not the locally dominant agricultural caste that has claimed rights at the temple, but rather the regionally dominant merchant caste, the Agravāls, who have successfully attained a position of predominance in patronizing the temple due to the financial resources they could bring to bear. To a slight extent the Māheśvarīs of Osian, who are the dominant merchant caste in both the village and the

immediate area, appear to have exerted some influence on the temple of Sacciyā in terms of the gradual vegetarianizing of the temple in the twentieth century, in contrast to the preferences of the local Rājpūts and lower castes for animal offerings. But in recent decades the Māheśvarī influence has been largely overshadowed by that of wealthy non-local Osvāl donors.

In the twentieth century the development of modern means of transport has made these temples much more accessible to people from a vastly wider catchment area. As a result, the ways in which these temples function as socio-economic institutions has changed dramatically. Dispersed groups such as the Dāhimās or Osvāls can often mobilize much greater economic and political resources than the local elite, and thus the claims to proprietary rights of a locally dominant caste, which is still based in a rural or small town economy, may be outweighed (and out-bought) by those of a wealthier dispersed community based in the urban, national, and even international economy.

Traditional Patron/s (*Jajmān*)

The classic model for the patron is the king or other royal person who donates money and/or land for the building, maintenance, and/or renovation of a temple. The role of patron might also on occasion be adopted by a local lord (*jāgīrdār*) acting in a royal manner. It is quite likely that the current physical structures of all four of these temples were constructed with some form of royal patronage.

The model of the royal patron has also been adopted by wealthy Jain merchants acting as "merchant princes." The most famous examples of this are the thirteenth-century brothers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, who were responsible for the construction of a number of temples throughout present-day Gujarat and southern Rajasthan. Other examples are Vimala Śāha, who in the eleventh century was responsible for constructing the Vimala Vasahī at Abu, and Dharaṇā Śāha who was responsible for constructing the temple at Ranakpur in the fifteenth century. Near Jodhpur, the temple of Svayambhū Pārśvanātha at Kaparda was built between 1617 and 1621 by Bhānā Bhaṇḍārī, the governor (*hākim*) of Jetaran under King Gaj Singh of Jodhpur (*Tīrth Darśan* 1980:151–53).

We lack any origin myth for the Raṇchoḍjī temple, but the origin myths of Sacciyā, Mahāvīrā, and Dadhimatī all tell of their construction by royal patrons. In the case of the first two, the construction is part of the same larger narrative that also relates the establishment of the Osvāl caste. In brief (Vārṣṇey 1988), Upaldev, the Śaiva king of Upkeshpur (Osian), and all the other meat-eating resident Rājpūts were converted into vegetarian Jain Osvāls by the Jain monk Ācārya Ratnaprabhsūri. Uhaṛ, one of the king's ministers, built the Jain temple. The construction of the temple of Sacciyā (originally Cāmuṇḍā) is not mentioned in the standard account; since she was the patron goddess of the city, her temple was presumably built by Upaldev as part of his establishing the city. Another source (Jñānsundar 1929:91, 1943:111–12) says that the Sacciyā temple was originally also a Jain temple, to Pārśvanātha, built by Upaldev.

The myths of Dadhimatī in several ways recount royal constructions. One story says that a King Māndhātā built the first temple here at the instruction of the goddess herself in the Treta Yuga (Jośī 1994:8).[12] This temple disappeared after many years. A song well-known among Dāhimā Brahman devotees of Dadhimatī, composed in 1853 by one Jeṭhmal of Khimsar, credits the building of the Dadhimatī temple to the king of Udaipur.[13]

While these narratives tell of royal foundings, these temples have been without exclusive royal patronage for much if not most of their existence. Evidence of such later patronage is certainly absent from Mahāvīra, although here the royal patron is replaced by the congregation or *saṅgh* (see below) as patron, and it is in part on the basis of the *saṅgh*'s financing and managing later renovations of the temple that the *saṅgh* has clear proprietary rights over the temple. We did not discover any evidence for the local Bhāṭī Rajpūt *jāgīrdār*s of Osian extending such patronage to Sacciyā, although they clearly had an important role in the ritual life of the temple, and so conceivably might have contributed occasionally toward its maintenance. Nor is there evidence of such support at Raṇchoḍjī, although some informants thought there might have been some patronage in earlier times from the local Rājpūt *jāgīrdār* of Jasol.

Only at Dadhimatī is there clear evidence of recent royal patronage. This is seen most clearly in an inscription of 1851 CE. The text of the inscription details the extensive re-configuration of the temple's surrounding structures funded by the King of Udaipur, and all done at the instruction of Viṣṇudās, a charismatic Dāhimā Brahman renouncer (Śarmā 1915). This did not, however, lead to a claim of any proprietary rights on the part of the Udaipur royal family or state, and the Dāhimās have interpreted this evidence to indicate that while the king financed the constructions, he did not act as patron, and so had no special rights. Two informants said that while the king paid for the renovation, the temple nonetheless belonged to the Dāhimās, because the king acted at the request (*prernā*) of Viṣṇudās. There are also references to donations for renovations of the temple from King Sardār Singh of Jodhpur in 1924 in thanks for the miraculous cure of the queen, but again these have not led to claims of proprietary rights, and have certainly been very much downplayed by the Dāhimā beneficiaries of such donations (Vaidya 1988:28, Jośī n.d.:6). Nor did a donation by King Śer Singh of Jaiṣalmer result in any such claims (Jośī n.d.:6).[14]

Human Descent from the Deity, or Some Other Special Connection to the Deity

The basis of this claim is a genealogical, almost biological one, that a particular community due to the nature of its origin has a special relationship with the deity in the temple, and therefore has special proprietary rights. This is most clearly seen at Dadhimatī, where the Dāhimā Brahmans' origin story involves Dadhimatī's pledge to be their caste-goddess (*kul devī*). The 144 grandsons of Dādhīci performed a grand vegetarian fire sacrifice at the *kuṇḍ* near the site of the contemporary temple. Dadhimatī manifested in the *kuṇḍ* in response to the sacrifice, and agreed to be their *kul devī*. The Dāhimās in this

century have based their successful claims to sole proprietorship of the temple, with the temple management being exercized by the Dāhimā Mahāsabhā, the caste association, upon this special relationship, saying that while Dadhimatī is an important goddess for all people living in the general area of the temple, an area they call Dadhimatī *kṣetra* ("The Site of Dadhimatī"), she is uniquely important for them as their *kul devī*.

This is also at the heart of the Osvāl understanding of their relationship to Sacciyā. One Osvāl origin myth locates that origin in Osian, with Sacciyā as the *kul devī* of all Osvāls. This relationship is certainly one factor in the lavish financial support this temple receives from Osvāls.

In contrast to Dāhimā control over Dadhimatī, the recent dominance of Osvāls in the financial affairs of Sacciyā has not led to claims of sole proprietorship. Osvāls recognize that Sacciyā is the *kul devī* of lineages of many other castes (a claim often denied by Dāhimā Brahmans in the case of Dadhimatī), and is clearly of much greater significance to all other castes in the surrounding area than is Dadhimatī. The current Temple Trust uses the broad appeal of Sacciyā to many castes as support for its claim to observe the modern rules of a public temple trust (chapter three). A further factor is that since Sacciyā is located in a much more populous and prosperous area than is Dadhimatī, non-Osvāl support for Sacciyā is greater than non-Dāhimā support for Dadhimatī, and so no single caste community has successfully claimed control over Sacciyā.

Claims of descent-based proprietorship do not occur in the cases of Mahāvīra or Raṇchoḍjī. In both cases the main deity in the temple is a transcendent male figure, with a universal appeal, rather than one with a specific caste-based origin myth.

Rights to worship a deity may also be based on an alternative identity of the image, and even involve alternative forms of worship. A well-known case of this is at the Jain temple of Kesariyā south of Udaipur. Jains worship the main image as the Jina Ādinātha, known here as Kesariyājī. It is also worshiped by local Bhil tribals as Kālājī or Kariā Bābā,[15] and Caroline Humphrey reports that they "take a pride in visiting the temple without the humble demeanour" that is commonly associated with Jain temple visitation. She further says that in the annual chariot festival (*rath yātrā*), the Bhils "dance wildly in front of the procession," in what sounds like a form of possession cult very alien to Jain worship of Jinas (Humphrey 1991:217). Similarly, according to one source, local Jāṭs, Rabārīs, and other similar castes worship the image of Raṇchoḍjī Viṣṇu as Bhūriyā Bābā, and they worship the Hanumān image in a small side shrine as Khoṛiyā Bābā (Gupta 1957, n.d.). In particular, they come to worship these two Bābās at the time of marriage, when they perform the rite known as *jāt denā*, and at the time of the first tonsure of a child, when they perform the rite known as *muṇḍan* or *jhaḍūl utarvānā*.

This right to perform specific rituals to specific deities (or a caste-specific understanding of the main deity) is found at many temples. At the Mahāvīra temple in Osian, many non-Jains come not to worship the Jina image, but to perform *jāt denā* to an image of Bherū on the side of the temple (Plates 30, 31). Another image of the same Bherū is located just outside the front gateway to the temple, and it is here that untouchables

perform *jāt denā*. This right, to worship a specific deity within (or on the boundary of) the temple precincts, is very circumscribed, and does not entail any further rights there.

Charismatic Renouncers

Our research has shown that a charismatic renouncer can have a profound impact upon the origin and subsequent history of a temple. Proprietary claims can be based upon a relationship with a particular charismatic renouncer, or such a renouncer can change the nature of the proprietary patterns of a temple. Such renouncers have been significant players in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century histories of three of the temples; only in the case of Sacciyā have they been absent.

The story of Viṣṇudās and Dadhimatī is of a renouncer who almost single-handedly arranged for the renovation of the temple (Śarmā 1915). That he was also a Dāhimā Brahman, and that his son from his pre-renouncer status also played a major role in the renovation of the temple, helped solidify Dāhimā claims to the temple, and shows how renouncers oftentimes continue to work for the welfare of their natal caste. Viṣṇudās did not formally take *saṅnyās*, but rather was a widower who refused a second marriage under the influence of his *vairāgya* or feelings of renunciation, and was called a *brahmacārī* due to his willed celibacy. First he prayed to the goddess and with her aid removed a stone slab placed over the image of the goddess by one Gaurī Śāh that made *darśan* difficult.[16] Later, he became well-known for his performance of eleven fire sacrifices (*homa*), which brought him to the attention of King Sarūp Singh of Udaipur. Between 1849 and 1851, Sarūp Singh renovated the temple and built the surrounding structures at the instructions of Viṣṇudās and his son Baldev.[17] We did not discover any further connections of renouncers with Dadhimatī, and the Dāhimā community more broadly does not appear to be one that has produced many renouncers.

In the case of the Mahāvīra temple, several Jain renouncers played crucial roles in the temple's history. The first of these is the quasi-mythical Ācārya Ratnaprabhsūri, who is credited with first consecrating the image almost 2,500 years ago, after he had converted the local population to Jainism. In more recent times, the "rediscovery" of the temple is credited to the monk Mohanlāl, who is also credited with instructing the Jodhpur Jain community to arrange for the renovation and restoration of what was previously a largely abandoned temple.[18] What is unknown is whether or not this Jain reclamation of the temple was resisted by any local non-Jain communities. After Mohanlāl, in the 1910s the monks Ratnavijay and Jñānsundar were instrumental in putting the management of the temple on a sound footing by instructing the laity overseeing the temple to establish a formal organization to run the temple, and to start efficient financial record keeping. Since there is no resident Jain population in Osian, Ratnavijay also was instrumental in getting the Jains of Marwar to establish a boarding school there, so that the school boys could act as a de facto resident Jain population, and Jñānsundar played a significant role in enabling the school to overcome several near failures in its early years. This has not led to an ongoing relationship between renouncers and the temple, however. This is in part because

Ratnavijay had only one important disciple, who was Jñānsundar, and the latter had only a few disciples, none of whom are alive. As a result there was no disciplic lineage to express any special connection with the temple. This is different from some other Jain temples, such as Mahudi in Gujarat, where the successors of Ācārya Buddhisāgarsūri retain a special connection with the temple (Cort 1997), or Nakora, where successors of Ācārya Himācalsūri retain a special connection. Further, due to the relative paucity of Mūrtipūjak Jains in this area of Marwar, few Mūrtipūjak monks come to Osian.

A charismatic renouncer also seems to have played an important role in the recent rise of the Agarvāls to a position of dominance in the oversight of the Raṇchoḍjī temple. Haridās was a renouncer who had been born an Agravāl, and stayed for some time at the temple.[19] He was instrumental in the formal establishment twenty years ago of a trust to oversee the temple, and it appears that it was in part his charismatic teaching that got many Agravāls involved in temple affairs. Here again, however, there has not been an ongoing influence of renouncers over temple affairs; Haridās's disciple Rāmśaraṇācārya resides in the area, but plays no special role in temple affairs.

Several other temples which we have studied for comparative purposes also reveal the central role played by renouncers. The early twentieth-century renovation of the Jain complex at Nakora was inspired by Sādhvī Sundarśrī and Muni Himmatvijay (later Ācārya Vijay Himācalsūri) of the Tapā Gacch (Sālecā 1991). The early twentieth-century renovation of the Jain temple at Kaparda was inspired by Ācārya Nemisūri of the Tapā Gacch (*Kāparṛā* n.d.). The Jain temple at Gangani, another old site outside of Jodhpur, was renovated under the inspiration of Jñānsundar's last disciple, Muni Premsundar (*Gāṅgāṇī* 1969). Finally, the story behind the origin of the temple of Sālāsar Bālājī in Shekawati revolves around Mohandās, another Dāhimā Brahman renouncer, who lived in the mid-eighteenth century (Rāmdatt 1984, Bedhṛak 1997). Mohandās had a number of direct experiences of the heroic Vīr Hanumān. Eventually a *svayambhū* ("self-born") image of Hanumān was established in Salasar, and the descendants of Mohandās's sister's son Udayrām became the hereditary *pujārīs*.

The Temple as Private Property

In none of the cases we have studied is the temple seen as private property. But there are examples of such. Perhaps the best known in western India are temples of the important Vaiṣṇava Puṣṭimārg (or Vallabh) congregation. In this tradition temples are known as *havelīs*, "palaces" (see Pramar 1989). Many of them are legally considered to be not public temples but rather the private residences of the priests, into which the public is allowed to view the images.

There are two other important examples of privately-held temples that we encountered. One is the Gaṇeśa temple at Moti Doongri in Jaipur, which is the private property of an extended family of Dāhimās, who serve as priests. The other example is that of Sālāsar Bālājī, which is also the private property of an extended family of Dāhimās.

The cases of the Jaipur Gaṇeśa temple and Sālāsar Bālājī temple indicate that some quite important, wealthy temples can be retained as private property. One of the best-known temples in India which retains this status is the temple of Naṭarāja at Cidambaram in Tamil Nadu. Paul Younger (1995:19–20) reports that in both 1954 and 1981 the courts found that the special practices of the Dīkṣitar *pujārīs* were sufficently unique that the community formed a "special denomination," and so it was allowed to continue management of the temple. This is a slightly different sense of "private property" from that found in Jaipur and Salasar, and indicates that this category covers a spectrum of temple-management customs.

The Temple as State Property

"State" can be understood in two ways. In pre-Independence India, all four of the temples we studied were within the boundaries of the State of Marwar. Here, the king himself as the embodiment of the state was seen as the ultimate owner of all property (albeit not with unlimited rights to that land), and land was understood to be "private property" in only a very limited sense. However, in none of the four cases did the royal court actively intervene or oversee the running of these temples. We have uncovered only one instance in which this was even an issue. In the early years of the twentieth century the All-India Dāhimā Mahāsabhā, acting as the umbrella organization of all Dāhimās, worked to establish its proprietary rights to the Dadhimatī temple. On the one hand it established its rights against the priests who claimed proprietary rights as temple servants of long standing. There was also a claim advanced by the owners of one or more local gypsum strip-mining companies that the temple was state property.[20] At issue here was whether or not the companies could use rooms in the temple compound as offices. If the temple were state property, then the companies could use the rooms with permission of the local government representatives. But if the temple were not state property, as eventually the Mahāsabhā established, then the companies would have to seek the Mahāsabhā's permission and pay rent to it.

There are several instances in India in which the temple is not so much state property, as the state as a whole is temple property—or, more properly, god's property, since the state as a whole is ceded to the deity and the king reigns as regent. One example of such a state temple is that of Ekliṅgjī outside of Udaipur. This temple has been under the direct control of the royal family since it was constructed in 1467. Ekliṅgjī (Śiva) himself is recognized as the official ruler of Mewar, and the King serves as his prime minister (Gaston 1997:52, citing Tod 1829:411–12). This was a fairly common practice in medieval India, as we find similar examples from eastern and southern India, in the contexts of the temple of Jagannātha in Puri, Orissa, and the temple of Virūpākṣa in Vijayanagara. In 1230, the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma dedicated the whole of his empire to Jagannātha-Puruṣottama, and declared himself the lord's son and deputy (Kulke 1978a:151–2). This practice was continued by the fifteenth-century Sūryavaṃśi king Kapilendra, who in 1464 described himself as the servant (*sevaka*) of Jagannātha (Kulke

1978b:205). In the mid-fourteenth century the Sangamas, the first dynasty of Vijayanagara, settled in Hampi, their new capital city. They adopted Virūpākṣa, an important local deity, as their family deity, and from then issued official decrees in the name of Virūpākṣa, "suggesting that he was the true lord of the realm" (Asher and Talbot 2006:65; see also Verghese 2000:97-8). Subsequent kings of Vijayanagara continued this practice for the next several centuries. Finally, and closer in time to the present, in the early eighteenth century Sawai Jai Singh, the Kachhwaha ruler who founded Jaipur as his new capital, "considered the god [Govinda Deva, a form of Kṛṣṇa] to be the true ruler of Jaipur and himself, the king, only the god's human agent (Asher and Talbot 2006:254).

There is another way in which a temple can be seen as a vital interest of the state, with the state both claiming some rights for its own and intervening in the process of determining who else has what rights. Every state in India now has a government Temple Management Board (Devsthān), which has the legislated responsibility of overseeing the finances and management of every temple in the state. In some cases these boards have taken over the actual management of the temples themselves. The most famous example in India is that of the Veṅkateśvar Bālājī temple in Tirupati, near Madras, which is by all accounts the wealthiest temple in India. Other well-known examples are closer at hand in north Gujarat, where the goddess temples of Ambājī and Bahucarājī are managed by the state Devsthān. None of the temples we studied is so managed, although several informants indicated that it was the possibility of the Rajasthan Devsthān taking over the Sacciyā temple, which at the time was operating without a legal trust, that helped persuade the priests managing the temple to agree to form a more broadly representative trust in the early 1970s.

The ways in which state Devsthāns oversee temples differ from state to state, and this is far too complex a subject to cover in any depth here. Further, these patterns have changed over the past two centuries of first colonial and then independent Indian rule.[21] But a few examples will help us see in part how Devsthāns function. In the case of the Puṣṭīmārg temple at Nathdwara, the current temple board was established in 1959 by an official Nathdwara Temple Act of the Rajasthan state government. The board consists of the traditional head of the temple (the Tilkayat), the district collector, and nine other members appointed by the State government, all of whom have to be members of the Puṣṭimārg Sampradāy (Jindel 1976:101–05, Verdia 1982:68–72). In Bhubhaneswar, Orissa, the famous Liṅgarāj temple operates under the direction of a Board of Trustees, which itself is appointed by the statewide Commissioner of Endowments, in accordance with the Orissa Hindu Religious Endowment Act of 1939 (Mahapatra 1981:32–38). The Orissa act was based on the earlier Madras act, first passed in 1925 and subsequently amended several times. The Tamil Nadu state government, with its schemes to ensure the proper Āgamic ritual education of the *pujārī*s, would appear to be the most actively interventionist of all the state Devsthāns (Fuller 1984:112–61). In part this may reflect the implementation in Tamil Nadu in the twentieth century of the medieval liturgical Āgama tradition in a modernized educational form (Fuller 1984:135–61, 2003:80–113, and the

sources he cites). Our research indicated that there is no such formal liturgical tradition at any of the temples we studied in Rajasthan, and concerns for ritual orthopraxy were noticeably absent.

The state intervenes in another way in all these temples. Each one is officially registered as a protected archaeological monument by the government of the state of Rajasthan, and so the management of each temple has to be careful in its renovation and repairing work not to violate the "originality" of the temple. The national and state archaeological authorities understand this to mean a perceived "original" form and intention of the temple. This does not mean that the temples cannot be extensively renovated and even reconfigured, but we know that state archaeological authorities intervened to block a proposed renovation at Mahāvīra, and also to prevent further painting and installation of decorative mirror-work at Raṇchoḍjī. None of the temples exhibited the degree of control by archaeological control as exhibited at the Liṅgarāj temple, where the Board of Trustees and the Commissioner of Endowments are responsible for the management of the temple, but the Archaeological Survey of India is responsible for the protection of the physical structure (Mahapatra 1981:39, 169–73).

The state further intervenes in the running of temples through the legal provisions of trust and tax laws (see chapter three). While a very small temple may easily be private property, almost any temple that is visited by more than immediate family members falls into the legal definition of a public temple, and if the finances involved are sufficient the temple must be registered as a public trust with the state Register of Trusts. Every trust is required to submit an audited expense report on an annual basis. All four of the temples we studied now fall under this category as registered public trusts with boards of trustees and annual financial reports, which were published documents in the cases of the Sacciyā and Mahāvīra temples. We did encounter one temple that was not registered as a public trust, but was instead considered to be a private business run for the benefit of the *pujārī*s who owned it and who made their livelihood by serving the larger public. This was the Jaipur Gaṇeśa temple. A disadvantage of running the temple as a business rather than a public trust is that income derived by the latter is tax-free, whereas income from a business is highly taxed, with the result that the income tax authorities frequently intervened in the affairs of the Gaṇeśa temple.[22]

The Congregation (*Saṅgh*)

The congregational form of internal organization is much stronger in Jainism than in the various social and religious strands that together constitute "Hinduism." The *saṅgh* is defined in Jainism as the totality of the four sub-communities of monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen, and in theory it is the final authority on any substantial matter. The *saṅgh* is larger than any individual caste or local community, and in its largest form constitutes the totality of all Śvetāmbar Mūrtipūjak Jains. Thus proprietary rights at a public pilgrimage temple such as Mahāvīra rest not with an individual but with the *saṅgh*. The trust that actually manages the temple is understood to represent the *saṅgh*, and as such is

accountable to the larger Jain community, although in actual practice it is largely autonomous. This form of community organization is lacking in any of the other three temples, although it is found in differing forms in certain "sects" of Hinduism, usually those centered around devotion to a particular deity such as Kṛṣṇa and/or the teachings of a particular lineage of gurus.

There is no Jain population in Osian itself, and the Jain population of the surrounding villages is largely Sthānakvāsī. As a result, control of the Mahāvīra temple passed out of Jain hands at an undetermined time in the past. After Mohanlāl came to Osian in 1878, he instructed an important member of the Jodhpur Mūrtipūjak *saṅgh* to take responsibility for the renovation and oversight of the temple.[23] This continued until 1894, when control was transferred to a leading member of the Phalodi *saṅgh*, and control over the temple has been in the hands of Jains whose native place is Phalodi ever since, even though the current manager is a Jodhpur Jain. Up until 1961 the temple was under the control of the same board that ran the Jain boarding school; this board had been legally established in 1915. In 1961 the school was officially registered under the state Charitable Institutions Law of 1958. In 1981 the managements of the school and the temple were separated, and the Seṭh Śrī Maṅgalsiṃhjī Ratansiṃhjī Dev kī Peḍhī Trust was legally registered with the Devsthān. While most of the principal trustees live in Chennai and Mumbai, in almost all cases their families originally came from Phalodi, and they maintain close connections with the town.

History

History enters in various ways into all of these different strategies for claiming proprietary rights. Lawrence Babb discusses differing conceptions of history in greater depth in chapter two, but let me conclude this chapter with a few remarks.

*Pujārī*s claim that the history of their continuous service of the deity gives them proprietary rights. Indian law has recognized the limited validity of such claims, although it has rarely seen them as valid claims to exclusive proprietary rights. We have seen such claims advanced at both Dadhimatī and Sacciyā.

Claims to patronage as *jajmān* are frequently inscribed on stone or copper plates and placed in a visible and permanent location in the temple. These stone or copper-plate inscriptions are major historical sources for our knowledge not only of Indian religious history but of Indian royal and social history as well. Here again this is not a dominant pattern at any of the four temples, and Dāhimās were very explicit in their understanding that the 1851 inscription concerning the donations by the King of Udaipur to the Dadhimatī temple did not in any way weaken the Dāhimās' own claims to proprietary rights, since it was a Dāhimā who organized the donation and supervised the actual work. The Dāhimās have successfully used a seventh-century inscription to bolster their claims to exclusive control over the temple.

Claims to proprietary rights based upon descent or some other special relationship with the deity are based upon the origin myths of the community in question. Calling them

"myths" is, of course, to employ the intellectual categories of the European-American academy. They are seen by the communities in question as narratives that profoundly validate their self-identity; I term them myths to indicate that these narratives tend to be community-specific, and are shared only in part with other communities involved with the temple.

Thus history is a multivalent category involved in all of these temples. There is the history of oral and written mythic and origin texts. There is the history of stone and copper-plate inscriptions. There is the history embedded in residence at a place, or (as in the case of Dāhimās at Dadhimatī and Osvāls at Osian) long-term non-residence. There is the history embedded in the very temples themselves. Each of these histories employs different standards of proof (*pramāṇ*), is expressed in different genres of communication, and is fitted into different contexts of meaning. All of them are used to advance claims of proprietary rights at temples.

We thus see that temples can be studied as sites of contestation over financial assets, political assets, spiritual assets, and cultural assets. To the one-time visitor, a temple may appear to be a fixed entity with a clearly-defined identity. We see, however, that when viewed over time, the identities of a temple and the deity enthroned in the temple are tied to the identities of an array of people who are connected to the temple as patrons, builders, renovators, owners, trustees, ritual specialists, devotees, descendants, neighboring inhabitants, government representatives, and pilgrims. The relationships among these people, the temple, and the deity will fluctuate as different people advance various claims to proprietary rights in relation to the temple and/or the deity. The one-time visitor comes away with the impression that the temple is a solid, continuing presence. To an architectural historian, the temple appears to be far more fluid, as the physical structure is renovated, rebuilt, and reconfigured repeatedly over the centuries. In a similar manner, to a social historian the temple also appears to be fluid over time, as it is one node in an ever-shifting array of social groupings and identities.

Notes

1. Unless the temple was buried in rather short order, this story, which is not found in any other account of Mohanlāl's coming to Osian, is improbable. Inscriptions from 1677 and 1732 record repairs made to the temple under the supervision of craftsmen (*sutradhāra*, *sompurā*) (Handa 1984:229–30), indicating that it was in active use within a century-and-a-half before Mohanlāl's coming to Osian. Similarly, the *Osiyā Vīr Stavan* composed by the Jain monk Nayapramod in 1655 describes the temple as in active worship (Śāh 1953:173–74). More recently, an image of Gautam Svāmī was installed in the temple in 1872 CE (VS 1929), just six years before Mohanlāl's visit. (This image is not mentioned by Handa [1984], but has been situated in a prominent location since before the reconfiguration of the temple in the 1960s and 1970s.) Narratives of the "rediscovery" of temples frequently exaggerate the preceding desuetude in order to glorify the hero of the narrative. This observation applies equally to the narrative of Viṣṇudās and Dadhimatī (see below).

The Jain manager of the temple told us a different—and more believable—story concerning Mohanlāl's "re-discovery" of the temple. As he showed us around the temple, he stopped in front of the image of Mohanlāl. Mohanlāl was a great scholar, he said, and so had read about the temple of Osian. He came to see it, but it was covered in sand, with only the temple spire visible. Mohanlāl arranged for a lay patron from Jodhpur to clear away the sand. When he finally entered the temple, Mohanlāl found the sanctum covered by a stone wall. He had one of the workers make a small hole in the wall. When he peered through the wall he saw that the image was still enshrined there, so he had the rest of the wall removed. Similar stone slabs preserved the two large images of Ādinātha on side altars in the main temple.

2. The structural similarities between the Mohanlāl and Viṣṇudās stories, of a temple buried up to the top of the spire which is rediscovered when a charismatic renouncer sees the finial, indicates that we are dealing with a cultural trope. Further, the similarity between this trope of the rediscovery of a buried temple and the many stories in South Asia of the discovery or rediscovery of a buried image (Eichinger Ferro-Luzzi 1987) is quite striking.
3. Again, there is counter-evidence of continuity: according to one source, Paṇḍit Kamalāpati Dādhīc Iṣṭī of Merta arranged for a renovation of the temple in 1780 (*Dādhīc* 3:3–4 [Dec. 1941–Jan. 1942], 95).
4. See Lawrence Babb, chapter two above.
5. The extent to which exclusivist claims are a phenomenon of the gradual penetration throughout India of ideas of exclusive personal property rights that are embedded in English law is a matter that would bear further research.
6. See Fuller 1984 and 1993, and Good 1989, for thorough discussions of these issues in the rather different settings of the large temples in Tamil Nadu.
7. The low status of temple *pujārī*s throughout India has been much discussed; see Fuller 1984:49–71, Heesterman 1985:26–44, Quigley 1993:54–86. Appadurai 1983 also addresses the issue, but from a rather different approach, that priests are of low status due to being Tantric. I think this is an untenable argument.
8. See chapter three on the legal distinctions between public and private temples.
9. This information is from an undated loose page from an issue of *Dadhimatī* magazine, lent to us by a Dāhimā informant, which reports the findings of a Civil Court decision dated 14 January 1918. The same informant also loaned us loose pages from issues of *Dadhimatī* magazine reporting various stages of the quarrel between the Dāhimā Mahāsabhā and the *pujārī*s, dating from 1912, 1917, and 1918.
10. This inscription was published by Pandit Ram Karna Asopa, a Dāhimā and court *paṇḍit* to the King of Marwar. His brother Govind Narayan Asopa almost single-handedly ran the All-India Dāhimā Mahāsabhā for its first several decades. See Ram Karna 1911–12.
11. The concept of the "dominant caste" is from Srinivas 1987:60–115.
12. Other accounts place this event in the Satya Yuga.
13. I have two versions of this song, which differ only in matters of orthography. The song begins with the line "*chand guṇ dadhimathī kā gātā sakal kī sahāy karo mātā*." *Bhajan Mālā* 1996:12–14, and *Āratī Saṅgrah* 13–14.
14. One informant also claimed that Queen Ahalyābāī Holkar of Indore had contributed to a renovation of the temple; this may well reflect Ahalyābāī's fame as a rebuilder of temples at many important Hindu pilgrimage sites throughout north India. On Ahalyābāī, see Davis 1997:197.

15. Humphrey (1991:218–19) hypothesizes that this tribal deity might be a version of the popular western Indian snake deity Kesariyā Kaṅvar.
16. Again, the similarity to one of the stories of Mohanlāl and the Mahāvīra temple is striking. It is quite possible that the sanctum of each temple was walled shut when the community in control of it could no longer guarantee regular worship and protection of the temple and its main image.
17. This version is based on the lengthy Marwari and Sanskrit inscription carved to commemorate the renovation. Another version has this event occurring 2000 years ago (Dādhīc 1996).
18. Mohanlāl's importance to the Mahāvīra temple was later memorialized in the form of a marble image (*guru mūrti*), installed in a sub-shrine in 1897 CE. The brief inscription on the image gives information about neither the layperson who arranged for its installation nor the mendicant who consecrated it.
19. According to one informant, Haridās was in the Vaiṣṇava Bindugaddī lineage. This would appear to be a local seat of the Nimbarkī tradition. There is a small shrine to Haridās at a nearby temple of Nāḍīvāle Hanumān; this temple is maintained by two Nimbarkī renouncers.
20. *Dadhimatī* 4 (1912). Information on this is also included on several undated loose pages from issues of *Dadhimatī* magazine from the 1910s, loaned us by a Dāhimā informant.
21. See Appadurai 1981, Mukherjee 1977, and Presler 1987 for studies of ways in which the state dealt with temples under colonial rule and since Independence in Tamil Nadu and Orissa.
22. This summarizes what is in fact a rather complex web of legal and financial matters. The relevant laws for Rajasthan are found in Shah 1997 and *Rajasthan Local Laws*.
23. It is not clear from any of our records who controlled the temple prior to 1878, and whether or not there was any resistance to the Jain resumption of control. Osian was only one of a number of places in western India where in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries the Jains re-asserted control over temples that had come under the control of local Hindu populations after the local Jains all emigrated. In some cases this control was successful only after taking the cases to court, where the Jains' combination of wealth, legal expertise, social standing, and government connections usually allowed them to prevail. Such was the case, for example, at Charup in north Gujarat, a small village just north of Patan, where there was a quarrel between the Jain *saṅgh* of Patan and the Smārta Brahmans of Charup over the Jain temple (Śāh and Śāh 1919). In one case we encountered, after all the Mūrtipūjak Jains had emigrated from the town of Borunda to the east of Jodhpur, the local Sthānakvāsī *saṅgh* took control of the temple. While it may seem odd for the anti-temple Sthānakvāsīs to control a temple, two factors must be taken into account: traditional Marwari (*deśī*) Sthānakvāsīs appear to have been less virulently opposed to the cult of temples than "foreign" (*pardeśī*) Sthānakvāsīs (Guṇsundar 1939:I,248; I,718); and the control of the temple in Borunda also gave the *saṅgh* control over the land endowed to the temple, which consisted of an *upāśray* (monastery-like building) near the temple, and twenty-four bighas of agricultural land.

Part IV

Social Identities

8

Constructing a Jain Mendicant Lineage

Jñānsundar and the Upkeś Gacch

JOHN E. CORT

As we have seen in other chapters in this volume, a key player in the restoration of the Mahāvīra temple at Osian was the Śvetāmbar mendicant Muni Jñānsundar (1880–1955). He encouraged Śvetāmbar Mūrtipūjak Jains of Marwar to support the renovation and maintenance of the temple, and helped establish a Jain boarding school to give a permanent Jain presence in town. Jñānsundar's work at Osian was only one part of a larger life-long project to rewrite Jain history and restructure Jain society, a project that was grand in its ambitions and in the end a notable failure. Looking at Jñānsundar's project allows us, however, valuable insight into what, in the eyes of one mendicant from the first half of the twentieth century, the structures of Jain society should be. His failure to realize this project also allows us insight into some of the practical—as opposed to ideological—organizing features of Jain society.

Jñānsundar is undoubtedly one of the more unique figures in the long history of the Jain tradition. Paul Dundas's succinct description of Jñānsundar as "a pugnacious controversialist and something of an eccentric" is, if anything, an understatement (2002:247). Jñānsundar was a prolific author of texts on Jain devotion, ritual, and spirituality. He defended the practice of image-worship (*mūrtipūjā*) against the critiques of the majority Śvetāmbar sect in Marwar, the Sthānakvāsī. He authored far-ranging historical studies in which he attempted to rechart the Jains' understanding of their own history in terms of caste and lineage, and the connections between them. He attempted to fuse the history of the Osvāl castes of western India with, on the one hand, the town of Osian and its temples

of Mahāvīra and Sacciyā Mātā, and, on the other hand, the Mūrtipūjak mendicant lineage known as the Upkeś Gacch. This lineage itself is an anomaly in the Jain tradition, for it claims disciplic descent not in common with all other Jain mendicant lineages from Mahāvīra, but instead from Mahāvīra's predecessor, the twenty-third Jina Pārśvanātha. As I have indicated, and we will see in detail, Jñānsundar's attempt to rewrite Jain history, and thereby reorganize the structure of Jain mendicant and lay society in Marwar, was unsuccessful. The years he devoted to this task, despite the clear evidence that almost no other Jains were following him in the details of his project, give evidence to the accuracy of Dundas's characterization of him as eccentric. At the same time, the extensive financial support he was able to garner for his endeavors—hundreds of books published, a boarding school established at Osian, renovation of temples at Osian and Kaparda, a major Jain ritual building constructed in Jodhpur, and much else—indicates that his forceful personality was also a very charismatic and persuasive one.

Muni Jñānsundar

Most of Jñānsundar's life is better documented than that of almost any other Jain mendicant, in large part because of the massive two-volume, 1,350-page biography by his disciple Guṇsundar entitled *Ādarś-Jñān*, "Ideal Knowledge."[1] The wealth of details in the book indicates that most likely it was dictated by Jñānsundar himself, and so is as much autobiography as biography. My discussion of his life is based on Guṇsundar's book, unless indicated otherwise.

Jñānsundar was born as Gayvarcand (also Ghevarmal) in the village of Bisalpur, east of Jodhpur, in Marwar in VS 1937 (1880 CE). The family in earlier generations had been Mūrtipūjak, with *yati*s of the Kaṅvlā Gacch (another name for the Upkeś Gacch) as their family preceptors. Since the mendicants who came to Bisalpur in the late nineteenth century were Sthānakvāsī (before the late nineteenth century full-fledged Mūrtipūjak mendicants had been a rarity in Marwar for many decades, perhaps more than a century), for several generations the family's religious affiliation had been more Sthānakvāsī. In Marwar at this time the divide between the image-worshiping Mūrtipūjaks and the non-image-worshiping Sthānakvāsīs was not as sharp as it became later. The Sthānakvāsīs in Marwar disapproved of the worship of Jina images with material offerings (*dravya pūjā*), but were not ideologically opposed to the non-material veneration (*bhāv pūjā*) of images, and on occasions even the material worship. When Gayvarcand was born, for example, his family performed a ritual lustration (*snātra pūjā*) of a Jina image in a local temple, although this was one of the few times they ever went to the temple. This easy accommodation of both Mūrtipūjak and Sthānakvāsī identities was typical of much of Marwar in the late nineteenth century, before more ideologically iconoclastic mendicants from outside of Marwar started preaching there.

Gayvarcand was given a store to manage by his father in 1894, and married in 1897. Two years later a son died in infancy, and in 1901 he himself nearly died from illness. From this near escape he developed a sense of revulsion (*vairāgya*) for the world. His

family resisted his desire to renounce the world and become a Jain mendicant. As a compromise he took four ascetic vows—not to consume unboiled water, not to consume green vegetables, not to eat after sunset, and to avoid sexual intercourse—from Ratnacand, a Sthānakvāsī mendicant in the lineage of his father's guru Rugnāth (Raghunāth). But his ability to maintain these vows was obviously limited. For several years his life was a mixture of associating with Sthānakvāsī mendicants and trying to maintain a family life. During the first nine years of marriage four children were born to him and his wife, but all of them died. In 1906, after hearing in a mendicant's sermon that broken vows are the surest means to a rebirth in a hellish existence, he renewed his vows under Śrīlāl, a Sthānakvāsī mendicant in the Bāīs Ṭolā (Twenty-two Groups), the dominant Sthānakvāsī cluster of lineages in Marwar. Gayvarcand began to associate with mendicants more intensively. He adopted the clothing and conduct of a Sthānakvāsī mendicant, and practiced severe forms of asceticism. For example, in common with many Sthānakvāsī mendicants in Marwar, he used his own urine to clean himself after defecation. He wore only a single loincloth and a single shawl. Because he stopped washing, his body became home to countless lice. This extreme asceticism brought him to the attention of Sthānakvāsī mendicants, several of whom competed to gain him as a disciple. But the competition for his initiation only disappointed him, and in 1906 he performed a self-initiation (*svayam dīkṣā*) and declared himself to be a disciple of Śrīlāl. His relations with the latter, however, were far from amicable, and in 1915 Gayvarcand broke with Śrīlāl.

One of the main issues that precipitated the split was Gayvarcand's public declaration that there is no fault in the worship of images (*mūrtipūjā*). There were widespread debates and discussions on this issue throughout the Śvetāmbar communities of western India in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and Gayvarcand obviously was well aware of the arguments on both sides. A key point in Gayvarcand's acceptance of the worship of Jina images came during his rainy season retreat in Gangapur in 1913. Near the building in which he was staying was a Mūrtipūjak Jain temple and ritual building (*upāśray*). In the *upāśray* was a small collection of manuscripts, which Gayvarcand studied. In the colophon of a manuscript of the *Niryukti* on the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, written in 1351 by the copiest Paṇḍit Bhāvharṣ, he read a description of the stainless fruits of pilgrimage to shrines and *darśan* (ritual viewing) of images. He also read the account in the *Upāsakadaśāṅga Sūtra* of the Jain layman Ānand venerating Jina images, and the account in the *Jñātṛdharmakathā Sūtra* of the Jain laywoman Draupadī worshiping Jina images in a Jina temple. In the *Bhagavatī Sūtra* he read the description of the monks with magical powers (*vidyācara*) who worshiped images, on the basis of which it was clear that the word *caitya* found in many scriptures referred to Jina images.[2] He engaged in discussions on the subject with local Jains. There were also some Terāpanthī *sādhu*s in Gangapur for the rainy season retreat. Gayvarcand engaged them in debate on the subject of image-worship, and successfully convinced several Terāpanthī laity that it was an acceptable ritual practice.

From then on Gayvarcand regularly preached that image worship was a proper Jain ritual practice that led to liberation. This led to his break with Śrīlāl. At this time Gayvarcand's conviction was based solely on his independent reading of texts, and conversations with Mūrtipūjak laymen. He had never met a Mūrtipūjak mendicant. In 1915 he inquired from several Jodhpur laymen as to where he might meet such a mendicant, and was told that the Tapā Gacch mendicant Muni Ratnavijay was in Osian. He therefore travelled to Osian. Before meeting Ratnavijay he went to the Mahāvīra temple, and this experience clearly served as a spiritual and aesthetic confirmation of the new direction in his religious life. According to Guṇsundar (1939:I:272), upon entering the temple Jñānsundar was so happy that he took the temple fly-whisk in hand and performed a dance (a common ritual act among Mūrtipūjaks in western India), and said, "O Lord! In what previous life did I acquire the obstructing karma that cheated me of your *darśan*?" (An informant added that Gayvarcand removed his facecloth [*muhpatti*], a defining sign of a Sthānakvāsī mendicant, in front of a side image of Ādinātha in the temple, thus visually signifying his break with his Sthānakvāsī past.) Gayvarcand then went to meet Ratnavijay. He spent a little over a month with Ratnavijay, composing devotional hymns in the temple and studying the different codes of mendicant conduct (*samācārī*) of the Mūrtipūjak *gacch*s. Ratnavijay told him the history of the shrine, and of the conversion to Jainism of Gayvarcand's Osvāl ancestors by Ācārya Ratnaprabhsūri of the Upkeś Gacch. This was a history that Jñānsundar would later retell many times. Ratnavijay urged Gayvarcand, as someone who was local, to take in hand the renovation (*uddhār*) of the shrine. The two of them helped the Phalodi layman who was looking after the temple to establish a formal organization (*peḍhi*) to look after the management of the shrine, and formally inaugurated the new organization as the Maṅgalsiṃh Ratnasiṃh Peḍhi. They chose the name to echo the first initials of Mahāvīra (whose image was the main image in the temple) and Ratnaprabhsūri. Some months later, after the end of the four-month rainy season retreat in 1915, Ratnavijay gave Gayvarcand a new initiation as a full-fledged Mūrtipūjak mendicant (*saṃvegī sādhu*).

Ratnavijay was born in 1872 in Kacch.[3] In 1884 at the age of twelve he was initiated as a mendicant, with the name Ratnacandra, in the Āṭh Koṭī lineage of the Sthānakvāsīs.[4] As was the practice for Sthānakvāsī mendicants, he memorized the Prakrit root texts of the Śvetāmbar *āgama*s, and studied them through Gujarati translations. But he was not satisfied with only this degree of access to the texts, so he studied Sanskrit with a Brahman *paṇḍit* in Bhuj in order to be able to read the Sanskrit commentaries. This was a radical step, for while Mūrtipūjaks insisted that the Sanskrit commentaries were necessary for a full understanding of the root texts, and in essence were inseparably part of the scriptures, Sthānakvāsīs largely rejected the commentaries as later, false interpolations (Dundas 1996). Further, in order to distance them from the corrosive potential of the Sanskrit commentaries, Sthānakvāsī mendicants were forbidden to study Sanskrit. Gayvarcand's disaffection with Sthānakvāsī ideology was also precipitated by an interest in Sanskrit, which began during the rainy season retreat in Gangapur. He realized that he was unable to

understand the scriptures adequately because of his lack of knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, and so the local laity arranged for him to study with a *paṇḍit*. When Śrīlāl learned of this, he told the Gangapur laity that they were ruining a good mendicant, and ordered them to stop the instruction.

As a result of Ratnacand's reading the Sanskrit commentaries on the scriptures, in which there are many references to image worship, he came to believe that the worship of Jina images was proper, and so he left the Sthānakvāsī fold. In search of a new guru he went to Radhanpur, where in 1902 he took a new initiation under the Tapā Gacch Muni Dharmvijay (later Ācārya Vijay Dharmsūri), with the new name Muni Ratnavijay.[5] For much of the time before his death in Vapi in southern Gujarat in 1921 he engaged in extensive fasting and meditation, and often travelled alone.

For reasons that are not at all clear, Ratnavijay gave several instructions to Gayvarcand that shaped much of his subsequent career. First, he told Gayvarcand that he was to engage in the renovation (*uddhār*) of his own mendicant lineage (*gacch*). Gayvarcand asked what this lineage was. Ratnavijay explained that Gayvarcand's Osvāl ancestors of the Vaidya Mehtā patriclan had been converted to Jainism by Ratnaprabhsūri of the Upkeś Gacch. This was to be Gayvarcand's lineage, even though at the time there were only domesticated mendicants (*yati*) in the lineage, and no full-fledged mendicants (*saṃvegī sādhu*). (It is not clear to me that there were ever full-fledged mendicants in this lineage in the nine centuries for which we have historical evidence of its existence.) A further explanation for the logic of this unique initiation was that the *yatis* who were Gayvarcand's family preceptors (*kul gurus*) belonged to the Kaṅvlā Gacch, which Ratnavijay explained was another name of the Upkeś Gacch. He also instructed Gayvarcand that he was not to engage in the sectarian (*gacch-mat*) disputes which were widespread in Jain society at the time. Finally, he instructed Gayvarcand not to initiate any laity as mendicant disciples; he could accept as disciples only those who formerly had been Sthānakvāsī mendicants. This last requirement, one I have never heard of elsewhere in Jain history, to a significant extent undermined the instruction to renovate the lineage, for without the ability to initiate laymen as mendicants it proved impossible for the lineage to reproduce itself.

After the end of the rainy season retreat in 1915, Ratnavijay initiated Gayvarcand into the Upkeś Gacch as Muni Jñānsundar, and taught him the rules of the mendicant practice of the Upkeś Gacch. This was largely identical to the Tapā Gacch practice, with the addition of the recitation in the rite of *pratikramaṇ* of some extra verses to the Jain goddess Vairūṭyā Devī and to Ratnaprabhsūri, the great leader of the *gacch* who was credited with converting the Osvāls and Sacciyā Mātā to Jainism seventy years after the decease of Mahāvīra.

Ratnavijay was also responsible for awakening in Jñānsundar his interest in history. One day in Osian, Ratnavijay, Gayvarcand, the manager (*munim*) of the Jain temple, and some students of the newly established Jain Boarding School toured the ruined temples of Osian. Ratnavijay identified one of them as a Jain temple, for in the ruins was a headless

and limbless image of the Jina Candraprabha. Ratnavijay showed Gayvarcand the partial inscription on the image,[6] and explained to him the historical importance of this and other inscriptions. From this event Gayvarcand credited his keen interest in history, as recognized by the sobriquet he was later given, "Lover of History" (*itihās premī*).

Despite Ratnavijay's explicit instructions to Jñānsundar not to engage in sectarian arguments, it is obvious that this was precisely what he did. While the determination with which Jñānsundar pursued some of these sectarian disputes is a mark of his personality, a certain amount of criticism of other Jain lineages was unavoidable for one engaged in the process of reforming (or forming) his own lineage, for this process inevitably involves explicitly rejecting practices and doctrines of other lineages.[7] During the period when he was still a Sthānakvāsī but had come to accept the legitimacy of image worship, at the casual request of a layman in Byavar, Gayvarcand had begun to write a book in Hindi verse laying out the arguments in favor of image worship, entitled *Siddh Pratimā Muktāvalī* ("The Pearl Necklace of the Image of the Perfected Being") (Gayvarcand 1918). When he first stayed with Ratnavijay, before his second initiation, he showed the manuscript to Ratnavijay. Ratnavijay urged him to have it published, although not until after he had it proofread by a schooled writer, as it was obviously written by someone who was ignorant of Hindi grammar. In 1915 some local Marwari laymen arranged for both this book and the related *Pratimā Chattīsī* ("Thirty-Six Verses on Images") (Jñānsundar 1916) to be printed in Bombay. Sthānakvāsīs reacted angrily with articles in Jain periodicals criticizing Gayvarcand. Gayvarcand replied with a lengthier defense of images entitled *Gayvar Vilās* ("The Sport of Gayvar") (Jñānsundar 1917). It was in part in response to this negative publicity that Ratnavijay told Gayvarcand that he could not remain a Sthānakvāsī mendicant, but would formally have to become a Mūrtipūjak.

In addition to arguing with the Sthānakvāsīs, Jñānsundar also found himself in quarrels with local mendicants and laity of the Khartar Gacch. In 1916 he spent the first rainy season retreat (*cāturmās*) after his new initiation in Phalodi, where his presence engendered unspecified Mūrtipūjak-Sthānakvāsī and Khartar-Kaṅvlā quarrels. In Phalodi he undertook the beginnings of his study of the history of his new Upkeś Gacch. He studied and copied manuscripts of lineage chronicles (*paṭṭāvalī*) and other historical texts in the local monasteries.

In the late 1910s Jñānsundar spent two years in the Tapā Gacch stronghold of Gujarat. There he met and observed many of the leading Tapā Gacch mendicants. What he saw disappointed him. Even though he had "converted" from Sthānakvāsī to Mūrtipūjak, he was still a mendicant with a strongly ascetic disposition. In contrast to the few material items he retained for his own use, he was alarmed at the amount of material goods that surrounded the mendicants in Gujarat. He began to compose his *Mejhar Nāmā* ("Petition History"), a Gujarati poem that outlined his criticisms. The poem was designed as a letter from this continent addressed to the current Jina Sīmandhara Svāmī in Mahāvideha, telling him all the news about the Jain mendicants in India.[8] Jñānsundar modelled the poem on the *Sīmandhar Jin 125 Gāthānuṃ Stavan* ("125 Verse Hymn to Sīmandhara Jina"), a Gujarati

text by the great Tapā Gacch intellectual and reformer Mahopādhyay Yaśovijay (1624–1688) that criticized both the lax conduct of the *yati*s and the anti-image propaganda of the followers of Loṅkā Śāh.

Jñānsundar described the origin of the *Mejhar Nāmā* as follows (Jñānsundar 1935a:46–47):

> I was originally initiated in the Sthānakvāsī order. I took a great interest in studying the rituals (*kriyā*) in the scriptures. When I came into the Mūrtipūjak order I travelled to Gujarat to make a pilgrimage to Siddhācal (Mount Śatruñjay in Saurashtra), that supremely pure place which is the abode of perfection. Along the way I saw the laxity (*śithiltā*) in the conduct (*cāritra*) and rituals (*kriyā*) of the *ācārya*s, *upādhyāya*s, *paṅnyās*s, *sādhu*s and *sādhvī*s (male and female mendicants). My heart could not rest content. During the rainy season retreat in Surat I decided to send a report to Sīmandhara Svāmī, the great soul. I was unable to finish it due to the responsibilities of giving sermons and other tasks. While on pilgrimage to Siddhgiri (Śatruñjay), the text kept growing as I observed the childish play (*bāl līlā*) of the *sādhu*s.

Jñānsundar's last comment is an explicit comparison of the conduct of the Jain mendicants with that of Kṛṣṇa devotees, for whom *līlā* or "play" in imitation of the youthful (*bāl*) Kṛṣṇa is a highly valorized religious practice. The devotional enjoyment of Kṛṣṇa's *līlā* involves the maximum use of all of a person's senṣes. This is in direct contrast to the Jain religious ideal of ascetic equanimity. Jñānsundar's charge that Tapā Gacch mendicants engaged in *līlā* was therefore a very serious accusation of improper conduct and intention in the Gujarati Jain context.

In the *Mejhar Nāmā* Jñānsundar stressed that the ultimate authority in the Jain community remained with the fourfold *saṅgh* (male and female mendicants, laymen, laywomen) as a whole, not with the *ācārya*s. While this is in line with orthodox Jain understanding of its own internal hierarchy (Cort 2000b), in practice *ācārya*s have often exercised nearly unquestioned authority. According to Jñānsundar, the *ācārya*s were responsible for the propagation of proper knowledge, conduct, happiness, and peace (*jñān*, *ācār*, *sukh*, *śānti*) among the entire Jain *saṅgh*, and in this the *saṅgh* was under the *ācārya*s' authority. But the authority to invest a mendicant with the formal post (*padvī*) of *ācārya* remained only with the *saṅgh* as a whole. When the conduct of the *ācārya*s becomes marked by laxity (*śithiltā*), selfishness (*svārthtā*), concern with pleasure (*sukhśoliyāpan*), and egoism (*ahaṃbhāv*), argued Jñānsundar, then the community as a whole suffered a great loss (Jñānsundar 1935a:3–9).[9]

Jñānsundar then outlined the history of Jainism on this continent in terms of a continual struggle between Jains who have striven to maintain proper conduct and the various forces of laxity. In this his poem was by no means unusual, for there were many similar texts authored in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in which Digambar and Śvetāmbar, Mūrtipūjak and Sthānakvāsī, and Tapā Gacch and Khartar Gacch polemicists argued that their own position was the true and original Jain path, and all others were later lax deviations. This modern discourse rested upon a late medieval critique of laxity

within the Jain tradition. One of the very first Mūrtipūjak texts Jñānsundar had read, the *Kumatikuddālā* ("Digging Out Wrong Doctrines"), in no uncertain terms advanced the superiority of the Tapā Gacch over all other Jain lineages.[10]

Within the Tapā Gacch, this modern discourse was also aimed (on the whole very successfully) at eliminating the institution of the *yati* or semi-domesticated resident monk. Jñānsundar in the *Mejhar Nāmā* discussed the proper conduct of a Jain mendicant, and contrasted it with what he observed in Gujarat. He accused the Tapā Gacch mendicants in Gujarat of being lax in their ritual observances, insufficiently attentive to study, inadequately grounded in meditative equanimity, unduly concerned with physical possessions, desirous of various elevated posts within the mendicant hierarchy, and in other ways exhibiting all the behavior criticized by Mūrtipūjak Jains as being typical of the *caityavāsīs* (temple dwellers), the medieval landed monks who were the forerunners of the *yatis*.[11] Since the criticism of the lax *yatis* in favor of the more orthoprax *saṃvegī* (liberation seeking) mendicants was a cornerstone of the reform and renaissance of the Mūrtipūjak mendicant lineages in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Jñānsundar's charge, that the *saṃvegī* mendicants were engaging in the very laxity they were supposed to be replacing, hit at the heart of contemporary Tapā Gacch mendicant self-identity. To underscore his criticism of all that he observed, Jñānsundar contrasted his own text, in the form of a letter to Sīmandhara Svāmī giving a spiritual account of the times, to the various documents, contracts, book entries, and duplicate bills of exchange (*kāgad*, *huṇḍī*, *paiṭh*, *parpaiṭh*) that are essential to the life of a shopkeeper or financial accountant. The implication that the Gujarati mendicants were not really mendicants, but only shopkeepers in spiritual guise, would have been lost on none of his audience, since most Jain mendicants are born into merchant communities.

Jñānsundar finished the *Mejhar Nāmā* during the rainy season retreat of 1920, which he spent in Jaghriya in north Gujarat, near his guru Ratnavijay.[12] He showed the poem to Ratnavijay, who urged him to publish it. It was accordingly published in Bhavnagar in 1920, at first serially in a Jain magazine, and then as a separate book. After the retreat Jñānsundar travelled to Ahmedabad, where he met with Ācārya Vijay Nemisūri, one of the leading Tapā Gacch mendicants.[13] The two had already met several years earlier, when Nemisūri made a tour through Marwar, spending one rainy season in the town of Phalodi, a town central to Jñānsundar's own travels, and where he had many patrons and devotees. There Jñānsundar had accused Nemisūri of stealing his own first disciple, one Rūpsundar, whom Nemisūri reiniated as Rūpvijay, so there was already no love lost between the two. Guṇsundar in his biography of Jñānsundar described the latter as reacting to Nemisūri as living not like a mendicant, but in a royal palace: "When [Jñānsundar] saw the ritual building (*upāśray*) of the respected *ācārya*, with all of the books and other items, he became alarmed and thought, 'O! O! Over this mendicancy there is stretched a framework of royal splendor'" (Guṇsundar 1939:I:605). While Jñānsundar was in Ahmedabad the first installment of the *Mejhar Nāmā* was published in a Jain periodical. Nemisūri was furious.

Jñānsundar left Ahmedabad to begin his travel back to Marwar, but Nemisūri sent a lay follower to remonstrate with Jñānsundar. Jñānsundar replied to the layman (Guṇsundar 1939:I:606-07),

> I spent two years in Gujarat. Not only did I hear about, but I saw with my own eyes the childish play of those mendicants. How could I stay where those mendicants were treating Mahāvīra's teachings in such a fashion? The householders there are fine. They stainlessly maintain the vows they have taken. Their conduct is within the bounds of propriety, and they fear harmful karma (*pāp*). But those mendicants have become so enmeshed in consequential action [that generates karmic bondage, as opposed to equanimity], so lax and possessive, that in just a short time they'll become *yatis*. How can one just sit there quietly and not raise a complaint in such a situation? When I was able to sit there quietly, I understood that the teachings were bleeding.
>
> Have you seen Vijay Nemisūri's monastery? There are so many books, clothes, blankets, vessels and the like collected there that it looks like the dwelling of a common householder. On one side you have poor householders who can't find enough food to feed themselves twice daily, nor clothes to cover their bodies, while on the other side are these wealthy Jain mendicants who thrice daily have tea, milk, fruit, sweets, and sherbet, and have muslin and other expensive things to use.

When Jñānsundar told the layman that he planned to go on publicizing his criticisms of the contemporary Mūrtipūjak mendicants, Nemisūri became even angrier and sent some other laymen after Jñānsundar. They threatened Jñānsundar with unspecified dire consequences if he did not desist from publishing further installments of *Mejhar Nāmā*. He replied, "I will not take a single step backward in speaking the truth. I abandoned my home in search of the truth, and I abandoned the Sthānakvāsī community in search of the truth, so why should I now fear these apostates (*pāsattha*) whose conduct is inferior (*hīnācārī*)?" The term Jñānsundar used for Nemisūri and the other lax monks, *pāsattha*, is one that Jains have long used to characterize apostates who fail to live up to the standards of Jain mendicant practice and asceticism (Dundas 1993), and so was obviously used by Jñānsundar to indicate his scorn for those mendicants he was leaving behind in Gujarat. Jñānsundar did agree to one conciliatory act: he wrote to Ratnavijay to ask his advice as to whether or not he should continue to publish the installments of *Mejhar Nāmā*. Ratnavijay simply cabled the publisher to continue the work. This still further increased Nemisūri's anger, and he asked one of his lay followers to pay the publisher whatever it would take to cease publication. In this the layman was unsuccessful.[14]

Nemisūri was not the only person in Gujarat to take exception to Jñānsundar's book. In 1920 a Jain layman named Keśavlāl Ḍ. Śāh published an anti-Jñānsundar pamphlet with the aggressive title, "A Slap on the Face of Jñānsundar" (*Jñānsundar Mukhcapeṭīkā*).[15] In it the author, who would appear to be a layman named Devcand,[16] accused Jñānsundar of propagating his own spiteful opinions that were based only on useless and downright lies and insults. Such writings, averred the author, only brought harm to the Jain teachings

(K.Ḍ. Śāh 1920:3–4). In his long poem denouncing Jñānsundar, the author called on the ignorant Jñānsundar to listen to the true Jain teachings, said that he took Mūrtipūjak initiation on his own without a proper guru,[17] that his travelling alone was wrong and capricious (by which he implicitly criticized Jñānsundar's guru Ratnavijay as well), and that he was a master of untruth. Devcand's negative opinion of Jñānsundar is best summarized in the following verse: "The ornamental marks of a mendicant do not shine in him; what shines is the sovereignty of hell."

A final episode that occurred as Jñānsundar was departing from Gujarat, at the pilgrimage shrine of Taranga in northern Gujarat, again indicates Jñānsundar's revulsion at what he had encountered in the name of reformed Tapā Gacch mendicant observance. There he went to gather food at the local kitchen for those undertaking a special fast, known as *updhān*, at the shrine. He was amazed to find that the food, which he expected to be the usual bland, unappealing Jain ascetic food, included such savory and expensive items as almonds and pistachios. When Jñānsundar inquired for whom this rich food was intended, another mendicant said that there was no fault in the mendicants consuming such food, as it had not been prepared especially for them.[18] Jñānsundar was further horrified that evening when the two male mendicants after their evening rite of confession joined with the sixty or so participants in the fast. They were all women, most of them young widows. Jñānsundar described the situation as a *pāp līlā* or play of harmful karma, and bemoaned that irreligion (*adharm*) was being carried on in the name of religion (*dharm*), with the result that a mendicant who was supposed to guard his teachings, great vows, and strict celibacy had become a lord of Kṛṣṇa's cowgirls (*gopiyoṃ ke nāth*). Again, to say that the Jain emphasis on equanimity and asceticism had been displaced by a Vaiṣṇava emphasis on the employment of the senses in devotion to Kṛṣṇa, and to imply that the Jain emphasis on total celibacy in thought, action, and speech had been replaced with the Vaiṣṇava valorization of the sexual union between Kṛṣṇa and the cowgirls, was about as strong a criticism of mendicant behavior as one could make in a Gujarati Jain context. The contrast between the Jina as one who has conquered all passion (*vītrāg*), and Kṛṣṇa as a pseudo-deity who is in the thralls of passion, is of long-standing in western Indian Śvetāmbar Jainism (see the twelfth century *Yogaśāstra* of Hemacandra, II.4–7). Jñānsundar decided to add all that he saw and heard to the *Mejhar Nāmā*.

It should come as no surprise that Jñānsundar never returned to Gujarat. He spent the remaining three-and-a-half decades of his life in Marwar, among other things working to make a success of the Jain boarding school at Osian; it had been a letter from the manager to Ratnavijay and Jñānsundar that there were only ten students left in the school, and no funds, that precipitated Jñānsundar's return to Marwar. He devoted as much time and energy to a Jain boarding school at Kaparda, in an effort to ensure a Jain presence at this otherwise isolated Mūrtipūjak shrine as well. Whereas the Osian school flourished, and today has hundreds of students, the Kaparda school failed. Jñānsundar lived a life of strict asceticism. He wrote prolifically on a wide array of topics. Different sources posthumously credit him with writing 325 or 245 books and pamphlets.[19]

While formally he was in the Upkeś Gacch, in practice Jñānsundar was a leader in the local Tapā Gacch in Jodhpur and Marwar. Throughout the twentieth century this *gacch* has spread from its traditional base in Gujarat and the areas of Godwar in what is now southern Rajasthan that have long been very Gujarati in culture, especially among the merchant castes. It is now found in areas like Marwar, Jaipur, and North India where it was not to be found a century ago. The "Tapā-izing" of Jñānsundar can be seen concretely in two ways. A short 1992 biography of Jñānsundar (Rāṅkā 1992) incorrectly gives his mendicant name as Jñānsundarvijay, appending to his typical Upkeś Gacch name (most Upkeś Gacch *yatis* in Marwar received the lineage name of *sundar*) the most common Tapā Gacch lineage name of *vijay*. A similar hybridization of names occurred for his last disciple, Muni Premsundar, who is listed on the title page of a pamphlet he published in 1967 as Premsundarvijay.[20]

Since the Tapā Gacch did not have its own ritual building (*upāśray*) in Jodhpur, at Jñānsundar's urging the local Tapā Gacch *saṅgh* constructed a large *upāśray* which was opened on 8 August 1942. The very name of this building indicates the extent to which Jñānsundar was part of the Tapā Gacch establishment in Marwar, while at the same time advocating his distinctive Upkeś Gacch version of Tapā Gacch Jainism: Śrī Jain Śvetāmbar Bṛhat Tapāgacchīya Śrī Ratnaprabh Dharm Kriyā Bhavan, or the Ratnaprabh Religious Ritual Building of the Jain Śvetāmbar Great Tapā Gacch. (It is generally known simply as Kriyā Bhavan.) As we have seen, Ācārya Ratnaprabhsūri occupied a foundational place in the Upkeś Gacch self-identity. In 1943, presumably in recognition of his work for the Mūrtipūjaks of the area, the *saṅgh* of Jodhpur elevated him to the position of *ācārya* within the Upkeś Gacch with the new name of Devguptsūri. This was the appropriate title for the head of the *gacch*, which for several centuries had rotated among the three names Siddhsūri, Kakksūri, and Devguptsūri;[21] the last domesticated head of the *gacch*, Kakksūri, had been established on the seat in Bikaner in 1908, but sometime later the Bikaner *saṅgh* decided that he was not fit for the position, and so took away the insignia of office (Jñānsundar 1939b).[22] The post had remained vacant until Jñānsundar's elevation. Jñānsundar died in Pali in 1955 at the age of seventy-five. A memorial image of Jñānsundar was established on the upper floor of Kriyā Bhavan in Jodhpur on 14 May 1974 at the urging of two of his remaining disciples, the nuns Sampatśrī and Maṅglāśrī (Plate 28).

During his life Jñānsundar initiated very few disciples as mendicants, nor did he explicitly insist that his lay followers identify themselves as belonging to the Upkeś Gacch. As I noted above, his own guru Ratnavijay had instructed that he initiate only mendicants who had left the Sthānakvāsī fold. Guṇsundar (1939:II:437–38) listed nine disciples who were initiated up to 1939: six *sādhu*s (five former Sthānakvāsīs and one former Terāpanthī) and three *sādhvī*s. Several of these stayed with Jñānsundar for only a short time, then either joined other Mūrtipūjak lineages or else proved unfit for mendicant life according to Jñānsundar's strict standards. The one who stayed with Jñānsundar the longest was his biographer, Muni Guṇsundar. He was born near Nagaur in 1889, initiated

as the Sthānakvāsī mendicant Gambhīrmal in 1904, and then initiated into the Upkeś Gacch by Jñānsundar in 1926. According to the label of a portrait of him in Kriyā Bhavan in Jodhpur, he died in 1947.[23] Jñānsundar's last disciple, who was initiated after Guṇsundar wrote his biography and so is not on his list, was Muni Premsundar, a former Terāpanthī mendicant who took a second initiation from Jñānsundar in the 1940s or 1950s. He was active in the renovation of the Mūrtipūjak shrine of Gangani, outside of Jodhpur, in the mid-1950s, and died in Jodhpur in January 1968 (*Gāṅgāṇī* 1969). With him the short-lived tradition of modern full-fledged male mendicants in the Upkeś Gacch came to an end. As of 1998 there was still at least one domesticated *yati* in the Upkeś or Kaṅvlā Gacch, and possibly two. In March 1998 we met Yati Padamsundar, who owned and lived in what had formerly been the Kaṅvlā Gacch *upāśray* in Bikaner, and also spent several months of the year tending to a group of followers in Bombay. He said that he thought there was also a *yati* of the Upkeś Gacch living in Khimsar, near Nagaur, but we were unable to confirm this.[24] The *sādhvī*s initiated by Jñānsundar travelled with *sādhvī*s of the Vallabhsūri sub-lineage (*samuday*) of the Tapā Gacch, a sub-lineage that has been very active and popular throughout Rajasthan for many decades. As of 1998 Maṅglāśrī, one of the two *sādhvī*s who had arranged for the image in Jodhpur, was still alive, an elderly *sādhvī* staying in Jaipur.

Constructing a Jain Social and Ritual Culture

Much of Jñānsundar's work in the last three decades of his life can be characterized as a multi-faceted attempt to define what an ideal Jain mendicant lineage (*gacch*) should look like.[25] This involved establishing the proper history of Jainism, both in India in general and in Marwar in particular. History has long been a fiercely contested subject within the Jain tradition, as alternate histories are directly tied to alternate formulations of both Jain orthopraxy and orthodoxy.[26] There were three intertwined levels to this history.

First, disputes between Digambars and Śvetāmbars over scripture and proper mendicant practice are simultaneously arguments over the "true" history of what happened in the life of Mahāvīra and during the early centuries of the Jain community. Second, disputes between Mūrtipūjaks on the one hand, and Sthānakvāsīs and Terāpanthīs on the other, concerning whether or not the worship of images is an acceptable practice, are also disputes concerning the history of the propagation of the true teachings of Jainism in medieval times. Third, disputes between the two Mūrtipūjak *gacch*s that have been dominant in western India for the past several centuries, the Tapā and Khartar Gacchs, have been as much disputes concerning the authentic history of disciplic succession as they have been over matters of conduct and doctrine.

Jñānsundar wrote on all of these subjects. His presentation of the Śvetāmbar version of ancient and early medieval Jain history in contrast to the Digambar version was unremarkable, differing little if at all from many similar contemporary presentations. His presentation of the historical veracity of image worship, and the concomitant fabricated history of the "Loṅkā Mat" as represented in contemporary Jain society by the

Sthānakvāsīs and Terāpanthīs, was more sustained, and is the part of his historical research best known to the broader Jain and scholarly worlds. It also occasioned the most sustained intellectual and social resistance. Third, he entered into a detailed critique of the Khartar Gacch's historical self-image. At the heart of this part of his project was his argument for the Upkeś Gacch version of how the various Jain castes of western India were "converted" to Jainism, and a refutation of the Khartar Gacch versions of that history.[27]

The Ancient History of Image Worship, and the Spurious History of the Followers of Loṅkā Śāh

Jñānsundar wrote several lengthy books defending the worship of images and refuting the Sthānakvāsīs' versions of their own history. This was a defining issue in Jñānsundar's own redefinition of himself as a Mūrtipūjak mendicant, as we saw above. His earliest publications, *Siddh Pratimā Muktāvalī*, *Pratimā Chattīsī* and *Gayvar Vilās*, laid out the basic Mūrtipūjak defense of image-worship in contrast to the Sthānakvāsī critiques. Jñānsundar preached and in other ways agitated on this issue, and all of his disciples were former Sthanakvāsī and Terāpanthī mendicants who were convinced by his arguments. The latter part of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century was a time when the Śvetāmbar community of western India was riven by disputes over the orthodoxy of image worship, and so Jñānsundar's efforts were simply one chapter—albeit a very important one—in a much larger story.

Jñānsundar summarized his decades of study and preaching with two books he published in 1936. In *Mūrtipūjā kā Prācīn Itihās* ("The Ancient History of Image Worship") he engaged in a comprehensive survey of the historical evidence in support of image-worship, both within and outside the Jain tradition. He marshalled the textual evidence from early Śvetāmbar scriptures, and the more extensive evidence from the commentaries on those scriptures. He brought in evidence from later Jain texts, as well as archaeological and inscriptional evidence. Perhaps the most creative aspect of his attack on the Sthānakvāsīs was his global history of image worship, designed to show that the worship of images is a universal and therefore "natural" human religious phenomenon. Christians, Jews, Muslims, Parsis, Mongolians, and Native Americans all found a place in Jñānsundar's presentation as image worshipers.

The other aspect of Jñānsundar's defense of Jain image worship involved his historical investigation into the life and teachings of Loṅkā (or Lauṅkā) Śāh, the fifteenth-century initiator of the Śvetāmbar critique of images, and ancestor of the various Śvetāmbar iconoclastic mendicant lineages. In his 1936 *Śrīmān Lauṅkāśāh*, Jñānsundar combined a keen eye for issues of historical consistency with an equally keen proclivity to put his opponents in the worst possible light whenever possible. He showed that the extant Sthānakvāsī stories of the life of Loṅkā, and therefore of the origins of the opposition to image worship, were so internally inconsistent as to be of dubious historical value. Sthānakvāsī authors portrayed Loṅkā as an intellectually gifted layman who through his skills in copying manuscripts of the scriptures came to realize that the contemporary

Śvetāmbar mendicant ritual culture contravened the original teachings of Mahāvīra. Loṅkā therefore broke with the mendicants, bravely taught an inner spiritual path, and eventually took a mendicant initiation that restored the true practices of Jainism. Loṅkā's teachings, according to this history, convinced many Śvetāmbars also to break with the lax and idolatrous mendicants, and led to a far-reaching reform of Jain ritual culture.

Jñānsundar came to the conclusion that all of this was a later fabrication. As Paul Dundas has summarized Jñānsundar's conclusions, they were

> that Loṅkā was driven by necessity to Ahmedabad after the death of his parents and was compelled through poverty to earn his living in an *upāśray* as an undistinguished scribe of whose work nothing has survived and whose lack of learning precluded any ability to understand the Ardhamāgadhi language of the Śvetāmbara scriptures he was copying. Through the contempt in which he was held by his monastic employers and as a result of contact with Muslims, he subsequently formulated his doctrine of rejection of image worship . . . he falsely assumed the role of *ācārya* to teach what he claimed was the true religion of the fordmakers [Jinas] and gathered only a minuscule band of followers . . . (Dundas 2002: 247–48)

In his defense of image worship, Jñānsundar point by point addressed the writings of several leading Sthānakvāsī apologists. He wrote in an intellectual environment in which *ad hominem* attacks on one's intellectual opponents were the norm. At stake, as far as he and the others were concerned, were not mere antiquarian and intellectual minutiae, but the very historical bases of contemporary Jain practice and dogma. Comparison with the fervor of public discourse in the contemporary United States on issues such as abortion, capital punishment, and the role of the American military in global politics gives one a fair sense of the intensity with which the two sides argued.

Not surprisingly, the Sthānakvāsīs replied in a number of ways. Lay and mendicant authors issued pointed rebuttals. The Sthānakvāsīs in Jodhpur, who formed the majority of Śvetāmbars in the area, objected to the sectarian tone of Jñānsundar's writings, a tone that could create sectarian divisions in what was otherwise a more or less single Osvāl Jain community in terms of marriage and commensality. They acted to silence Jñānsundar. In particular, his writings came to the attention of the important Sthānakvāsī mendicant Ācārya Hastīmal, who asked several of Jñānsundar's lay disciples why they allowed such incendiary books to be published.[28] In response, the laity stopped distribution of his books. When we were researching in Jodhpur in 1998, we came across many locked cabinets in the Jñānsundar Pustak Bhaṇḍār ("Library") in Jodhpur containing hundreds of copies of his books.

The Spurious History of the Khartar Gacch

In his project to tie the history of the various Osvāl patriclans as Jain to the Upkeś Gacch Jñānsundar had to contend with a rival history of the "conversion" of the Osvāls, a history that was both better known and more ritually incorporated into the lives of the Osvāls. This

was the history put forward by the Khartar Gacch. Jñānsundar's historical project here had two parts. First, he borrowed from a long-standing Tapā Gacch polemic against the Khartar Gacch that questioned the legitimacy of the Khartar Gacch as a lineage of authentic *saṃvegī* or renouncing mendicants, and portrayed them instead as illegitimate *caityavāsī* or lax inhabitants of temples. The second involved publicizing a long-standing but largely ignored alternative Upkeś Gacch history of the conversion of the Osvāls.

For the past half-millennium the two dominant Mūrtipūjak mendicant lineages in western India have been the Tapā Gacch and the Khartar Gacch. In the past century, the Tapā Gacch appears decisively to have won the contest; this outcome was not so clear when Jñānsundar was active, especially not in Marwar, since in his time Tapā Gacch mendicants were seen only rarely in Marwar as they passed through on pilgrimage to Jaisalmer, and there were few Tapā Gacch laity.[29] Both *gacch*s emerged in the early centuries of the second millennium CE out of the less sectarian Śvetāmbar mendicant milieu of four *kul*s.[30] For the first several centuries of their existence each one slowly grew in influence, but they remained just two among the many Śvetāmbar lineages. It appears that rivalry for the support of the Mughal emperors Akbar and Jahangir may have played a decisive role in both their rise to dominance and the development of their inter-sectarian rivalry.[31]

The Tapā Gacch traces its history back to Jagaccandrasūri, who in 1228 in Chittor broke with his former lineage in response to what he perceived as the laxity of the prevailing mendicant practice. He and his followers were given the title Tapā, "ascetic," in recognition of their strict observance of ascetic and in particular dietary restrictions.

The Khartar Gacch claims a slightly earlier origin. The histories of the origin of the *gacch* evince a gradual period of crystallization of the *gacch* out of the setting of the four *kul*s. Khartar Gacch historians credit the origin of the *gacch* to Vardhmānsūri, who in the early eleventh century broke with his domesticated *caityavāsī* teacher Jincandrasūri. He became the disciple of Uddyotansūri and adopted the proper mendicant practice. His disciple was Jineśvarsūri, who in 1024 defeated the *caityavāsī*s in a debate in the royal court of King Durlabh at Anhilvad Patan, and was given the sobriquet Khartar, "Fierce," by the king. Jineśvarsūri's disciple was Jincandrasūri, and his disciple in turn was Abhaydevsūri, the famous eleventh century commentator on nine of the canonical *Aṅga*s. His disciple was Jinvallabhsūri, who is also credited with playing a formative role in the *gacch*. He also was originally a *caityavāsī*, but then became a disciple of Abhaydevsūri and a staunch proponent of proper practice. After him came Jindattsūri (1075–1154) and Jincandrasūri (1140–1166; known as Maṇidhārī because he had a magical jewel [*maṇi*] in his forehead). These last two were the first of the four Dādāgurus or semi-divine charismatic leaders of the *gacch*, and with them the *gacch* began to rise significantly in prominence (Babb 1996).

Jñānsundar read a more sectarian understanding of Jain society onto the earlier materials, but also used the ambiguities in the stories of the Khartar Gacch's early decades to his polemical advantage. His goal in his critique was to sever the connection between

Osvāls and the Khartar Gacch, and instead connect the Osvāl patriclans to the Upkeś Gacch. To do this, he argued that the Khartar Gacch was not an authentic Śvetāmbar Mūrtipūjak lineage, but rather due to blemishes in its origins was flawed in its very essence. To see this flaw, one needed to have a true understanding of the origin of the *gacch*.

Jñānsundar's attacks on the Khartar Gacch version of its own history arose out of his writings on the history of the Osvāl castes, to which I will turn below. In brief, according to the Upkeś Gacch version of this history, most of the Osvāl patriclans (*gotra*) converted to Jainism seventy years after the *nirvāṇ* of Mahāvīra, and the rest of them in the next few centuries.[32] This flew in the face of the history of the Osvāls as presented by the Khartar Gacch. The Khartar Gacch version has been analyzed by L. A. Babb (1996:160–67). According to this history, Jindattsūri during his career converted fifty-seven Osvāl patriclans to Jainism, usually by effecting some sort of miraculous cure. Babb (ibid.:162) reproduces a wall painting from a Khartar Gacch temple in Ajmer, and found in many other Khartar Gacch temples throughout Rajasthan, in which Jindattsūri points to a list of the names of the fifty-seven patriclans he converted.[33] Other Osvāl patriclans claim conversion due to the wonder-working grace of later heads of the Khartar Gacch.

Jñānsundar dismissed the Khartar Gacch history on several accounts. First, since he privileged his own Upkeś Gacch history as true, the conversions had to have occurred over a millennium earlier than according to the Khartar Gacch. He also took issue with the theme found in most of the Khartar Gacch conversion stories of a miraculous cure being the cause of the conversion. (Never mind that Ratnaprabhsūri, a key figure in the Upkeś Gacch history, is described as a wizard [*vidyādhar*] who entered into one story while flying overhead, that he was able miraculously to duplicate himself in order to preside over image installation rituals in two cities simultaneously, and that his miraculous cure of a fatal snake bite was central to the Upkeś story of the Osvāl conversion. Jñānsundar seems not to have been bothered by the questionable historicity of these events.) He said that the Osvāls in these stories seem to have been particularly prone to poisonous snake bites, and Osvāl patriclans seem to have been ready to effect major changes in the ritual life of the entire patriclan simply on the basis of a single person being cured of a snake bite. Further, he argued, if this was the case, then the Khartar *ācāryas* should have gone to Nepal; since that country is infested with snakes, they could have converted far more people to Jainism (Jñānsundar 1926:5).

Jñānsundar also attacked the sources of the Khartar Gacch histories. The Upkeś Gacch histories were maintained by the *mahātmās* (*yati* genealogists) of the lineage, who had travelled from village to village in Marwar maintaining close ties with their lay followers. As a result, these were reliably old documents. In imitation of the Upkeś Gacch *mahātmās*, non-Jain genealogists had started writing Osvāl genealogies; but these, insisted Jñānsundar, were not very old (ibid.:82). His estimation of the historical value of the genealogies was quite negative. The traditional non-Jain genealogists, he averred, were unreliable fabulists:

> It isn't necessary to explain that due to ignorance of history our pure India has fallen into a time when the imaginary narratives (*kathā*), stories (*kahānī*), dramas (*rās*) and chronicles (*khyāt*) of ignorant Cāraṇs, Bhāṭs and Bhojaks now occupy the lofty heights in place of history. They have received gold coins for their imaginary chronicles of big kings, and people place full faith in them as if they were divine utterances. Not only that, but inquiring historians such as Mr. Tod have swallowed these tales and filled their own history books with these imaginings. (Ibid.:6)

If the fantastic creations of the traditional genealogists had affected only the history of the kings, it would have been bad enough. But, Jñānsundar continued, "This is also the state of our Osvāl caste. Bhāṭs and Bhojaks have fabricated imaginary chronicles and genealogies to fool the ignorant Osvāls" (ibid.). Khartar Gacch authors who relied on such sources, by extension, were equally foolish.[34]

In the Khartar Gacch, according to Jñānsundar, there wasn't a single genuinely old Osvāl genealogy. The Khartar Gacch *mahātmā*s admitted as much, and explained that in the sixteenth century Karamcand Bacchāvat of Bikaner gathered all the Khartar Gacch genealogies together and threw them in a well. Jñānsundar dismissed this story, asking how one man could gather his enemies' genealogies from all over Marwar in one place. In truth, concluded Jñānsundar, "no Khartar *ācārya* has converted any non-Jain to being Jain" (Jñānsundar 1937a:35).

Finally, Jñānsundar criticized the Khartar Gacch authors for employing an inadequate historical methodology. They took texts such as those written by the genealogists at face value, and did not correlate their findings with other sources. This monk known as the "Lover of History" wrote that real history, as practiced by both Western and Eastern scholars, uses a wide array of sources: stone inscriptions, copper plate donations, coins, texts from a wide range of sources, archaeological findings, study of images and other material objects, and the writings of other contemporary historians (Jñānsundar 1926:7; 1929:*prastāvnā* 6).

Jñānsundar's rewriting of the history of the Osvāls, their conversion to Jainism, and their relationships with mendicant lineages, did not go uncontested. For example, in 1930 a Khartar Gacch mendicant named Magnasāgar published *Jain Jāti Nirṇay Samīkṣā*, a point by point rebuttal of one of Jñānsundar's earlier books.[35] Jñānsundar published his final and conclusive study of the Khartar Gacch in 1939 with his *Khartarmatotpatti*, "The Origin of the Khartar Sect." In his introduction to the book, he explained that he had been studying and writing on the history of the Jains of western India for the previous fifteen years. Khartar authors had written some negative things about him and his writings, such as "What gutter did your Ratnaprabhsūri crawl into? What have the eighteen *gotra*s Ratnaprabhsūri established ever done? There was no Ratnaprabhsūri, nor did any Ratnaprabh establish the Osvāls. The 125,000 laity in Osian were converted by Jindattsūri. The lax Kaṅvlā Gacch was established by people of fallen conduct" (Jñānsundar 1939:inside front cover). This book was his response. The tone of this introduction was intended to indicate that Jñānsundar had not willfully or capriciously written such a

forcefully contentious book, but rather he had been forced to do so to defend the honor of himself and his lineage from the base attacks of his opponents. The frontispiece of the book was a drawing based on a passage in the *Upakeśa Gaccha Prabandha* of 1327, according to which Ācārya Padmaprabhsūri of the Upkeś Gacch had defeated the Khartar Gacch Ācārya Jinpatisūri (1153–1220) in a debate in the court of King Vīsaldev of Ajmer. The picture showed both Jinpatisūri and Vīsaldeva bowing to Padmaprabhsūri and asking forgiveness for doubting him. Clearly Jñānsundar expected no less a result from his book.

In his analysis of Khartar Gacch history he in part relied upon a Khartar Gacch text authored not too long after the events it described. This was the *Bṛhadvṛtti* ("Large Commentary") of Sumatigaṇi on Jindattsūri's *Gaṇadharasārdhaśataka* ("150 Verses on the Disciples"). Sumatigaṇi was a disciple of Jinpatisūri. While Jinpatisūri was born only one year before Jindattsūri's death in 1154, he was the successor as head of the *gacch* to Jindattsūri's successor Jincandrasūri, and so presumably Sumatigaṇi wrote on events which were still relatively fresh in peoples' memories. The other text on which Jñānsundar relied was the *Pṛavacana Parīkṣā* ("Examination of the Doctrine") of the sixteenth-century Tapā Gacch controversialist Dharmsāgar, a pungent attack upon the authenticity of the Khartar Gacch (Dundas 1993).

Jñānsundar followed Dharmsāgar in levelling much of his criticism at Jinvallabhsūri. Khartar sources were clear that Jinvallabh was the disciple of the *caityavāsī* Jineśvarsūri of the Kurcapurā Gacch. Jñānsundar repeated the allegation that he had been an orphan who was sold to Jineśvarsūri by his mother. To Jñānsundar this indicated that the initiation was not motivated by any authentic seeking for liberation, but solely by monetary concerns. It was not surprising, therefore, that Jinvallabh abandoned his teacher and commenced studying with Abhaydevsūri, but without taking a second initiation as an authentic mendicant. Jinvallabh was therefore not properly a disciple of Abhaydevsūri, but remained a *caityavāsī*. Jñānsundar said of this new relationship, "Abhaydevsūri was a generous person, and so he taught the scriptures to Vallabh. But at that time Abhaydevsūri couldn't have dreamed that, as it says in the maxim that 'feeding a snake milk only increases its poison,' this *caityavāsī* he was teaching would later start a new sect that propagated deviant teachings (*utsūtra*)" (Jñānsundar 1939:III:3–4). Abhaydevsūri died in 1078. Twenty-nine years later, in Chittor, Jinvallabh started preaching his deviant doctrine that there were really six beneficial moments (*kalyāṇak*) in the life of Mahāvīra. Jinvallabh said that the miraculous event of the transfer of Mahāvīra's embryo from a Brahman to a Kṣatriya mother should be added to the standard list of five. This became the basis of a new sect, known as the Vidhimārg ("Path of Rites"). But, according to Jñānsundar, it was not very successful. For many years Jinvallabh had tried in vain to find someone to initiate him as an *ācārya*, but no one would. Jñānsundar said that this was due to four factors: there was widespread rejection of his new doctrine; he had neither a teacher nor any disciples; what following he had was not a full-fledged four-fold congregation (*caturvidh saṅgh*) of monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen, but instead consisted of a single monk and a handful of laymen; and the Jains had already expelled him from the fold. For reasons that are not

clear, one of Abhaydevsūri's successors, Devbhadrācārya, made Jinvallabh an *ācārya* shortly before the latter's death in 1110. But no one accepted that this made Jinvallabhsūri the rightful successor to Abhaydevsūri: "People called Jinvallabh an illegitimate *ācārya*. This was quite appropriate. Who wouldn't call a child illegitimate who was actually born thirty-two years after his father's death?" (ibid.:III:19).[36] Recall here also Jñānsundar's assertion in the *Mejhar Nāmā* that only the fourfold congregation had the right to install a mendicant as *ācārya*; a single mendicant did not have that right, so Devbhadrācārya's promotion of Jinvallabh to *ācārya* was improper.

Two years later Devbhadrācārya installed Jindattsūri as successor to Jinvallabhsūri in the new sect, in another improper promotion. In order to make the new sect successful, Jindattsūri started to propitiate the fierce goddess Cāmuṇḍā. This worship of an unreformed meat-eating goddess by Jindattsūri stands in obvious contrast to the Upkeś Gacch Ratnaprabhsūri's conversion of the meat-eating Cāmuṇḍā of Osian into the vegetarian, and therefore properly Jain, Sacciyā.

Jindattsūri added another deviant teaching to the doctrines of the new sect. In 1147 he was in the royal capital of Anhilvad Patan, where one day he happened to see a single drop of blood on the floor of a temple. This was the cause of the arising in Jindattsūri of powerfully wrong faith (*mithyātva*), and he started preaching that women of menstruating age should not be allowed to worship Jina images. But Patan at that time was a stronghold of Jainism: Kumārpāl was king, there were 1,800 Jain households including those of many millionaires, and the monks Hemcandrasūri and Kakksūri were royal preceptors.[37] Jindattsūri realized that his new doctrine was both illogical and flew in the face of the many stories of Jain heroines worshiping Jina images. But he was a stubborn person, and persisted in his teachings. Eventually realizing that he had no chance of success in Patan, and that he would be expelled from the congregation if he stayed there, one night he sneaked out of town on a fast-moving camel, "just as a thief flees in fear of the police" (ibid.:26).

People abused this new sect with three names. It was called the Cāmuṇḍā Gacch due to Jindattsūri's worship of the goddess; the Auṣṭrīk (Camel) Gacch due to Jindattsūri's ignominious flight from Patan; and the Khartar Gacch in response to Jindattsūri's stubborn insistence on preaching deviant doctrines. His followers adopted the third title as the least objectionable, and changed the meaning of Khartar from "stubborn" to "fierce."

Jñānsundar also had to account for the evident popularity of the Khartar Gacch. This he had done several years earlier in his 1937 *Jain Jātiyoṃ ke Gacchoṃ kā Itihās* ("History of the Gacchs of the Jain Castes"). In the context of his discussion of the conversion of various Osvāl patriclans, he rejected the Khartar claims that many of them were converted by Jindattsūri. Instead, he argued, these patriclans had been converted centuries earlier by Ratnaprabhsūri and other Upkeś Gacch *ācārya*s. Those patriclans that were "converted" to Jainism by Jindattsūri and other Khartar Gacch *ācārya*s had already been Jain. What happened was simply a number of chance events in which laity called upon Khartar Gacch mendicants to perform various rituals when no Upkeś Gacch mendicant was available.

These then led to ongoing ritual relationships between Osvāl patriclans and Khartar Gacch mendicants.

Jñānsundar concluded his hatchet job on Jindattsūri's claims to orthodoxy by allying him to what in the eyes of Mūrtipūjak Jains of western India has been the most egregious and dangerous heretical teaching, the criticism of image worship. He wrote, "The first person to oppose image-worship in Jainism was Jindattsūri. Those who came later such as Lauṅkā Śāh merely imitated Jindattsūri. Granted, Jindattsūri was opposed only to women performing image-worship, and Lauṅkā Śāh opposed both men and women doing it. But the main factor behind [Lauṅkā's] opposition was Jindattsūri" (ibid.:III:28). In sum, Jñānsundar said of the Khartar Gacch, "The people of this sect created various kinds of plots that caused great harm to Jain society, and continue to do so today. This harm has been greater than any caused by [Muslim] kings" (ibid.:III:40).

Jñānsundar also marshalled a number of inscriptions, lineage texts, and other texts to argue that the origin of the Khartar Gacch was not with Jineśvarsūri in 1024, and that the Khartar Gacch texts were filled with other historical inaccuracies. For example, the defining moment in the early Khartar Gacch according to its historians was the debate in 1024 in the royal court of Patan before King Durlabh, in which Jineśvarsūri defeated the *caityavāsī*s and was awarded the sobriquet "Khartar." Jñānsundar pointed out that Durlabh died in 1022. He argued that both Jineśvarsūri and Abhaydevsūri were still in the Candra Kul. The origins of the Khartar Gacch therefore, according to Jñānsundar, should be traced to Jindattsūri, and dated to 1147, and mendicants in this lineage didn't start to use the name Khartar to refer to themselves until the fourteenth century.

Jñānsundar's criticisms of the Khartar Gacch as originating with two mendicants of dubious pedigree served to cast aspersions upon the authenticity of all subsequent mendicants, and therefore the contemporary Khartar Gacch in Marwar. These criticisms, that the Khartar Gacch in some essential way was really just a lineage of bastard *caityavāsī*s, also followed from his earlier criticisms of contemporary Tapā Gacch laxity in Gujarat, and served to highlight his own ascetic rigor. He concluded his lengthy study of the Khartar Gacch with a discussion of nearly two dozen details in which the Khartar Gacch ritual practice of mendicants and laity disagreeed with the consensus practice of other *gacch*s. We will return to the issue of proper practice below.

The True History of the Osvāls and the Upkeś Gacch

Jñānsundar's deconstruction of the histories of the Sthānakvāsīs and Khartar Gacch was only part of his larger project. Clearing the underbrush of these rival histories of the Jains of western India went side by side with his writings on what he understood to be the true history, as found in the sources of his own Upkeś Gacch. Guṇsundar in his biography told how soon after his new initiation as an Upkeś Gacch mendicant, Jñānsundar began his study of the history of the Upkeś Gacch as found in various texts in the Upkeś Gacch monasteries of Marwar. There are a number of sources for compiling this history.

Central among these were two Sanskrit texts authored by Kakksūri. The *Nābhinandanajinoddhāra* ("The Renovation of [the Temple of] Ādinātha") told the story of the pilgrimage led by Kakksūri's guru Siddhsūri, and the laymen Deśal Śāh and his son Samarsiṃh, to restore the recently destroyed temple of Ādinātha at Śatruñjay in 1315. In this context he also told the story of the Upkeś Gacch. The closely related *Upakeśa Gaccha Prabandha* (also *Upakeśa Gaccha Cāritra*; "History of the Upkeś Gacch") gave only the history of the *gacch*, and would appear to overlap significantly with the first text. Kakksūri authored both of these texts in Korantapura in 1336 (VS 1393).[38] The material from Kakksūri's texts found its way into a series of subsequent lineage chronicles (*paṭṭāvalī*s).[39] Jñānsundar said he used several of these, and three of them have been published.[40]

The Upkeś Gacch was one of the major *caityavāsī* (domesticated) Śvetāmbar monastic lineages of medieval western India. The earliest inscriptional reference to it dates from 954, and the earliest textual reference from 1016 (Śiv Prasād 1991:62, 69). There were several branches of the lineage, most notably the Koraṇṭ Gacch (Śiv Prasād 1989).[41] By the early twentieth century the Upkeś Gacch was reduced to a handful of *yati*s in various towns and villages of Marwar, and, as I indicated above, by 1998 it was clearly on its last legs.

Perhaps the most noteworthy aspect of the Upkeś Gacch was its idiosyncratic insistence that it was the sole mendicant lineage that traced its disciplic descent, not to the congregation established by Mahāvīra, but instead to the one established by Pārśvanātha. This story appeared full blown in the writings of Kakksūri; in the absence of earlier historical texts or other references, it is impossible to say if he invented this history on his own, or if he repeated an older Upkeś Gacch self-understanding. In either event, it is not clear why the *gacch* promoted this history, although it quite possibly stemmed from an earlier—and now unknown—sectarian rivalry between lineages in western India, in which antiquity was a major factor in claiming authenticity, authority, and prestige. This lineage and its branches also employed the practice, common among Digambar lineages but otherwise unheard of among Śvetāmbars, of rotating a limited number of names among the lineage-heads.

Jñānsundar repeated this history of the *gacch* as starting with Pārśvanātha on many occasions. He related it in the context of his histories of the Osvāls and other castes (1926, 1928, 1929, 1937a), and in separate histories of the Upkeś Gacch (1940, 1943, Devguptsūri 1944). Central to this history was the story of the conversion of the Osvāl caste to Jainism, and the establishment of an authentic Jain congregation, a story he first heard from his guru Ratnavijay. This story has been analyzed in lucid detail by L. A. Babb,[42] and so I will summarize it only briefly here.

According to the Upkeś Gacch history, the sixth successor of the Jina Pārśvanātha was Ratnaprabhsūri. Seventy years after the *nirvāṇ* of Mahāvīra, in the course of Ratnaprabhsūri's travels he and his mendicant followers came to Osian, where they stayed on Luṇādrī hill just outside the city. This was a new frontier town, settled just a few years

previously by Rājpūts who had left the nearby city of Bhinmal or Shrimal. Since the residents were all non-Jain, meat-eating Rājpūts, the mendicants could find no suitable alms. They were prepared to leave, but the goddess Cāmuṇḍā encouraged Ratnaprabhsūri to stay on with a small group of mendicants. A short while later the son of the royal minister Uhaṛ was bitten, seemingly fatally, by a snake. The family took the corpse to be burnt, and were stopped by a disciple of Ratnaprabhsūri (in some variants Cāmuṇḍā, dressed as a mendicant), who asked why they were going to burn a living person. They took the body to Ratnaprabhsūri, who sprinkled some water that had been used to wash his feet over the boy and thereby revived him. Out of gratitude, 125,000 inhabitants of Osian accepted Ratnaprabhsūri as their teacher, and so became Jains (Plate 31).[43]

Ratnaprabhsūri instructed them in the ritual and ethical practices of Jainism. In Jñānsundar's definition of Jain ritual and social culture, to be properly Jain meant to be Mūrtipūjak Jain, and so at the heart of this identity there must be a Jina image and temple. At the time of his conversion Uhaṛ was engaged in constructing a temple to Viṣṇu. The construction kept falling down, so Uhaṛ asked Ratnaprabhsūri for help. The *ācārya* instructed him to convert the temple from one for Viṣṇu to one for Mahāvīra. But Uhaṛ needed an image. This problem was solved by Cāmuṇḍā, the goddess of the place, who created a wonderous image of sand and milk. This "self-born" (*svayambhū*) image was not humanly made, but literally of the very earth of Osian itself (Plate 31).[44]

The time came to install the image. By chance, Ratnaprabhsūri was requested by lay followers from the town of Korant to preside over the installation rituals of a Jina image there as well. Since the astrologically proper times for both installations were the same, Ratnaprabhsūri magically duplicated himself, and sent the doppelganger to Korant. When the laity of Korant discovered that they had been duped with a look alike rather than the real *ācārya*, they split off to form the Koraṇṭ Gacch.

It came time for the annual ritual celebration of Cāmuṇḍā, who was simultaneously the tutelary deity of Osian and the caste deity of the Osvāls—identities easily fused at the time, since the Osvāls had only founded Osian a generation earlier, and were all still residing at what was now their natal place. Since this ritual of necessity involved animal sacrifice, the newly converted Jains were in a quandary. Sacrificing animals violated the prime Jain ethical imperative of *ahiṃsā* (non-harm), but not to offer the animals would insult the goddess and incur her wrath. Ratnaprabhsūri intervened, and after a spiritual contest he overcame the goddess and converted her to vegetarian Jain offerings as well. In recognition that she also now followed the true spiritual path, she was renamed Sacciyā (or Saccikā), "The Truthful Goddess."

The history continued on to relate the deeds of subsequent *ācāryas* of the Upkeś Gacch. The seventh *ācārya*, Yakṣdevsūri, defeated a troublesome male deity (*yakṣ*) and converted him to Jainism, and converted many people in Sindh to Jainism as well. The eighth *ācārya*, Kakksūri, converted many people in Kacch to Jainism. The ninth *ācārya*, Devguptsūri, preached in the Panjab, and the tenth, Siddhsūri, preached in Bengal. In the words of one *paṭṭāvalī*, "In this manner there arose many *Sūri*s in the Upakeśa Gaccha,

who were distinguished through their power, their writings, and their unwordliness" (Hoernle 1890:241; *Upakeśa Gaccha Paṭṭāvalī*, p. 192).

The Proper Code of Ritual Conduct of the Upkeś Gacch

As noted above, in the months before his initiation as a Mūrtipūjak mendicant at the hands of Ratnavijay, Jñānsundar engaged in a comparative study of the codes of ritual conduct (*samācārī*) of the different Mūrtipūjak *gacch*s. Ratnavijay explained to him that the code of the Upkeś Gacch was largely the same as that of the Tapā Gacch. The only significant differences are in the performance of *pratikramaṇ*, the twice daily (as well as fortnightly, quarterly, and annual) rite of confession. The Upkeś Gacch liturgy included a verse to Vairūṭyā Devī, a Jain goddess, in addition to the verses in praise of Sarasvatī and Kṣetrapāl found in the standard Tapā Gacch liturgy.[45] This was added by a previous head of the *gacch*, one of the many Siddhsūris, who had been a devotee of this goddess. The other difference was in the performance of the form of meditation known as *kāüssagg*; the Upkeś Gacch code included the recitation of four verses dedicated to Ratnaprabhsūri. These had been added, according to Ratnavijay, in response to the extensive interaction over the years with the Khartar Gacch and its veneration of the four deceased *ācārya*s known as *dādāguru*s (Babb 1996, Laidlaw 1995). Both of these, said Ratnavijay, were recent additions and so could be omitted by Jñānsundar (Guṇsundar 1939:I:320–21).

In 1948 Jñānsundar (by then Ācārya Devguptsūri) published a lengthy discussion of the code of ritual conduct of the Upkeś Gacch. He explained that he had refrained from publishing the Upkeś Gacch code previously. There were no full-fledged mendicants in the *gacch* other than Jñānsundar and his immediate disciples, the laity had adopted the practices of other *gacch*s (for the most part Tapā Gacch), and he didn't want to add to the many conflicts over details of practice in the Jain community. He wrote with a tone of weariness at the intellectual battles he had fought throughout his career. But in an article in the January 1945 issue of the Jain magazine *Jain Dhvaj* ("The Jain Flag"), the Khartar Gacch lay intellectual Agarcand Nāhṭā had published what he claimed to be the Upkeś Gacch code as established by Ratnaprabhsūri. Nāhṭā cited as his source a 1917 article in *Jain Śāsan* ("The Jain Teachings") by Ratnavijay.[46] Jñānsundar said that he had never seen this article, and doubted it had actually been written by his guru, since the code as described was that of the Khartar Gacch, not the Upkeś Gacch. Instead, he surmised that someone in the Khartar Gacch had given a recent Khartar Gacch text to Ratnavijay, who then published it in *Jain Śāsan*. In response to Nāhṭā's article Jñānsundar felt impelled to publish the true and pure code of the Upkeś Gacch, and to clear up any misconceptions.

Jñānsundar said that the code of ritual conduct for all Jain mendicants was derived from the ten rules laid down by Mahāvīra in the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, the Śvetāmbar canonical text understood to consist of Mahāvīra's final sermons. The first three verses of chapter 26 of this text lay out ten rules of deportment and speech that should guide a mendicant's behavior. This posed a problem for Jñānsundar, as he had to explain how the mendicant followers of Pārśvanātha came to observe the rules laid down by Mahāvīra. The

Uttarādhyayana itself provided part of the answer to this. Chapter 23 of this text describes the well-known dialogue between Mahāvīra's follower Gautama and Pārśvanātha's follower Keśi. In particular the two debated whether there was any substantial difference between the five great vows (*mahāvrat*) enjoined by Mahāvīra and the four restraints (*yam*) enjoined by Pārśvanātha. Whereas the former prohibited harm, untruthfulness, taking what is not freely given, sexual activity, and possession, the latter did not explicitly refer to sexual abstinence. In the end, Gautama and Keśi agreed that the two sets were the same in intention, and Keśi and his followers adopted the five great vows of Mahāvīra (Jaini 1979:14–21 and 2003; Dundas 2002:30–33).

Jñānsundar explained that a further ten rules of mendicant deportment found in the *Uttarādhyayana* (26.2–4) also applied to Upkeś Gacch mendicants. He also expanded upon the Gautama-Keśi dialogue to describe other ways in which Ratnaprabhsūri later brought the two codes further into agreement. These changes involved details of context not mentioned in the *Uttarādhyayana*, nor elsewhere in the earliest Jain texts on mendicant conduct; rather, they were specific to the codes of the Śvetāmbar *gacch*s, and so dated from medieval times. Ratnaprabhsūri replaced the single initiation (*dīkṣā*) by a two-stage initiation; mandated wearing a single-colored cloth rather than five-colored cloth; said that mendicants must wear clothes, whereas before this had been optional; mandated that mendicants could no longer stay in one place for the duration of the cold season, insisting instead that monks must change residence every month and nuns every two months; mandated the regular performance of the rite of confession (*pratikramaṇ*) instead of only after a violation; mandated the performance of five forms of confession (morning, evening, fortnightly, four-monthly, and annual) instead of just morning and evening; and forbad the practices of accepting alms from a royal palace and requesting that laity prepare specific dishes (Devguptsūri 1948:*prastāvnā*, 5).

Later, in the body of his book, Jñānsundar slightly elaborated on these changes in a list of ten rules that further spelled out the details of mendicant conduct. In theory, the five great vows were sufficient for any mendicant. However, over time Jains had required clarification and amplification of some of the rules, and so the *ācārya*s of the various *gacch*s had added further rules. This led into the bulk of the book, in which Jñānsundar in a lengthy question-and-answer format addressed a wide array of specifics in Śvetāmbar mendicant and lay practice.

Jñānsundar's list is impressive for the range of rituals it covers. It includes mendicant practices, lay fasts, the performance of the confessional rite of *pratikramaṇ*, image worship, and annual observances. In its breadth it provides us with a fairly comprehensive list of what it is that Śvetāmbar Mūrtipūjak Jains, in particular mendicants, but in the ideal laity as well, actually *do*.

At the same time, the list of ritual practices is almost mind-numbing in its detail. But they indicate how rituals serve in their detailed precision to create and sustain a social identity. To an outside observer, it might not seem to make much difference whether the last line of the *Namaskāra Mantra* is pronounced "*paḍhamaṃ havaï maṅgalaṃ*" or

"*paḍhamaṃ hoi maṅgalaṃ*." But this is what serves to distinguish one ritual micro-culture, and therefore a ritually defined social group, from another. Since ritual—action that is done on a repeated basis to create and recreate meaning in the cosmos—is central to human society, ritual differences are central to the delineation of social differences.

An Upkeś Gacch Liturgy for Image Worship

We have seen above how image worship (or its rejection) has been central to Śvetāmbar Jain identities in western India for the past five centuries. Either one does or does not worship images of the Jinas; this is a dividing line with far-reaching consequences. Accordingly, an important part of Jñānsundar's project was to create a distinctively Upkeś Gacch liturgy, so that Upkeś Gacch laity when performing image worship would sing hymns that reinforced the history and practices of their *gacch*. Between 1936 and 1938 he composed the liturgies for three *pūjā*s: a *Snātra Pūjā* or bathing ritual, performed first thing every morning in every temple; an *Aṣṭaprakārī Pūjā*, the basic eightfold ritual done by most observant laity on a daily basis; and a *Baṛī Pūjā*, a larger ritual for use on special festive occasions (Jñānsundar 1937b; Devguptsūri 1946). As Lawrence Babb (2004:171; chapter two above) has pointed out, the performance of the first major public ritual to the image of Mahāvīra in Osian had served as a quasi-sacrifice to establish the eighteen patriclans of the Osvāl caste. Large public rituals define a community, in this case both a *saṅgh* and a *gacch*. Jñānsundar instructed that the basic ritual was to be performed in accordance with the ritual manuals of the Tapā Gacch.

The lengthy text of the *Baṛī Pūjā* ("Great Worship") summarizes the history of the Upkeś Gacch, from Pārśvanātha's first disciple through Ratnaprabhsūri and the rest of the first ten *ācārya*s. The text then leaps to the thirteenth century Siddhsūri (guru of Kakksūri, author of the *Nabhinandanajinoddhāra Prabandha*) who preached for the renovation of Śatruñjay, and then again leaps to the twentieth century. The final verses of the liturgy conclude that the Upkeś Gacch *ācārya*s made the three castes of Osvāls, Śrīmālīs, and Porvāls into Jains (Babb 2004:166; chapter two above), and these are the three pillars of Jain society. There were many renouncing (*tyāgī*) mendicants in the lineage, but over time there came to be only lax *yati*s. Then came Ratnavijay, who restored renunciatory practice to the *gacch*.[47]

History, Ritual, and Identity

Disagreements about history are rarely just disinterested intellectual exercises. Disagreement about the past is usually tied to concerns of the present, as what "really" happened is understood by all the parties to have some sort of connection—perhaps ontological, perhaps paradigmatic—to who those parties are in the present. In the Jain context, this translates into the second element in Jñānsundar's project, the creation of a distinctive, proper, and pure Upkeś Gacch ritual culture. His historical interventions were

essential to demonstrate the validity of the practices within this ritual culture. At the same time, given the somewhat attenuated condition of the Upkeś Gacch—mendicants comprising, with the exception of Jñānsundar himself and his tiny handful of disciples, only a few semi-domesticated *yatis*, and laity who were increasingly coming under the growing influence of the Tapā Gacch—this required the creation of that ritual culture. These two features were related, as a major reason that lay people shifted their allegiance to the Tapā Gacch was the sharply increasing number of full-fledged (and therefore institutionally legitimized) *saṃvegī sādhus* in the *gacch*. If Jñānsundar had been able to initiate a significant number of mendicant disciples, he may very well have also succeeded in retaining an Upkeś Gacch identity among the laity. This part of his project involved the composition of a distinctively Upkeś Gacch liturgy for the central lay ritual of image worship.

Jñānsundar's project also involved an articulation of the minute ways in which Upkeś Gacch performance of a wide array of ascetic, meditative, and venerational rituals differed from their performance in other *gacchs*. Social identity in India is usually enacted through ritual activity that simultaneously gives one a sense of who one is—"this is what we do (or eat)"—and a sense of who one is not—"we don't do what they do (or eat what they eat)" or "we do what appear to be similar things, but we do them differently." Rituals create this identity, and then through the repetitiveness that is a defining characteristic of ritual they continually recreate and reinforce that sense of identity.

In both of these aspects of his project—defining "true" Jain history, and "true" Jain practice—Jñānsundar was doing what many other activist Jains, both mendicant and lay, were also doing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, a time of extensive "reforms" within the Jain communities. The third part of his project, however, was more distinctive, and perhaps even idiosyncratic. This was his attempt to construct a historical model of Jainism in which the three major social units of Jainism, the mendicant *saṅgh*, the lay *saṅgh*, and the lay caste (at all its levels of articulation: *varṇa*, *jāti*, and *gotra*), were seen as organically intertwined as a single entity. The relationships within Jain society among these three kinds of social units have always been complex, to say the least, and rarely have been reducible to a simple chart. But this is precisely what Jñānsundar tried to do—in his historical reconstruction at least, for the model of an ideal Jain social structure that he articulated was sufficiently discordant with the on-the-ground realities of Jainism in Marwar that he seems not to have tried to actualize his ideal. Jñānsundar in his presentation of the Upkeś Gacch version of the history of Jains in western India focused on the narratives of how several important merchant caste-clusters—the Porvāls, the Śrīmālīs, and especially his own Osvāls—had become Jain. In his history he fused a mendicant lineage (the Upkeś Gacch), a lay *saṅgh* (those laity whose traditional preceptors were the *yatis* of the Kaṅvlā or Upkeś Gacch), a caste (the Osvāls), two related pilgrimage shrines and their images (Mahāvīra and Sacciyā Mātā in Osian), and even a city (Osian, formerly Upkeshpur), into a single organic unit.

Jñānsundar may not have been alone in such an effort. There are many ways that his project resembles the successful one of the Śvetāmbar Terāpanth, with its fairly close relationship between mendicant and lay *saṅgh*s, and its location largely within Vīsā Osvāl patriclans of Rajasthan. The Terāpanth insistence on a single clearly defined hierarchy, with a single *ācārya* on top who is viewed almost as a living twenty-fifth Jina, probably has much to do with the success of the Terāpanth organic model of an ideal Jainism. Jñānsundar's affirmation of the dominant understanding of Jain social hierarchy, with the more diffuse entirety of the fourfold *saṅgh* outranking the centralized authority of an *ācārya*, indicates both how the Terāpanth has diverged from orthodox Jain social order, and what it would have required for Jñānsundar to have been successful in his social project.[48]

What is a full Jain social and ritual culture according to Jñānsundar? At its core is a lineage of mendicants tracing their initiations back to the founder of Jainism, albeit in this case to Pārśvanātha, not Mahāvīra. This lineage is a *saṅgh* of monks and nuns. These mendicants perform their regular ascetic, meditative, and venerational rituals in a proper and pure manner as laid out in the code of ritual conduct (*samācārī*).

These mendicants are supported by a lay community that also performs its regular ascetic, venerational, and devotional rituals in the proper and pure manner according to the rules of the *gacch*. This lay community is simultaneously a *saṅgh* of laymen and laywomen, and a caste (*jāti*) made up of exogamous but commensal patriclans (*gotra*). This caste has a nearly biological connection with the lineage due to a history of conversion—or, more properly, awakening to the truth. This is a history of spiritual parenthood. As Lawrence Babb (2004:183n38; chapter two above) has observed, Jñānsundar's intent was "to stress the complete elimination of the *varṇa* system and the Brahmanical/sacrificial order with which it is associated," and to emphasize that human society is properly based on a shared awakening to the Jain truth. In other words, for Jñānsundar *varṇa* and *jāti* are replaced by *saṅgh* and *gacch* as the important, legitimate units of society.

The intertwined nature of caste and lineage is indicated in a shared name (Upkeś) that signifies the near biological connection of both with a place of origin, Upkeshpur, modern Osian. Neither the caste nor the lineage emerge "naturally" from this place, as both come from elsewhere—Bhinmal in the case of the caste, Pārśvanātha in the case of the lineage. But it is here in Osian that their histories become intertwined, and they find their mutual identities as parts of a fourfold *saṅgh*. Only if there is a fourfold *saṅgh* do we have an authentic Jain community.

Further tying the caste and the lineage together is a shared goddess. Sacciyā is both the *kul devī* (lineage goddess) of the caste and the *adhiṣṭhāyak devī* (foundation goddess) of the lineage, and in both of these roles is responsible for the protection and perpetuation of the community. She is the goddess of the place where the destinies of the caste and the lineage merged.

Since this is a Jain mendicant-caste organic whole, and to be properly Jain means to be Mūrtipūjak, this identity is further cemented by a Jina image. That is the self-born (*svayambhū*) image of Mahāvīra and its temple in Osian.

The early twentieth century was a period of great social flux for Jainism—and here I have to use the socially unspecific "Jainism" rather than "Jains," because what constituted a Jain community, society, or even culture was precisely what was under debate. There were sectarian debates between Śvetāmbar and Digambar, between Mūrtipūjak and Sthānakvāsī, and among and within the different *gacch*s. The regular travels of the mendicants increasingly involved both shoring up a mendicant's (and his lineage's) support among lay congregations, and trying to enlarge those congregations (and hence his lay following) by convincing followers of other sects and lineages of the truth of one's own teachings. Within several branches of Jain society—the Mūrtipūjak Śvetāmbar community, but also the Digambars—there was a widespread movement to redefine what it meant to be an authentic mendicant. This involved argumentation in print and live debate against perceived laxity, and withdrawal of material support from lax pseudo-mendicants. There were also widespread movements for the social "reform" and "uplift" of both castes and lay congregations, in which Jains participated in the larger discourse of modernity in both its Indian and global guises.

Jñānsundar inserted himself in all of this. What was distinctive about this insertion, however, was that he attempted to integrate his activity on castes, lineages, temples, and social reform[49] into a single grand project, to create a single holistic Jain society. His project allows us to see what one modern Jain intellectual thought that a complete Jain society should be. It needed to have an encompassing ritual culture that is based on a proper code of conduct for both mendicants and laity. It needed to be grounded in a proper understanding of the true history of the community. That history was one that integrated mendicant lineage with lay patriclan into a single community.

Jñānsundar's project really never had a chance, for it involved too drastic a rewriting of both history and the on-the-ground social realities. While patriclans and disciplic lineages have been intertwined in complex ways throughout the history of Jainism, the lay patriclan and the mendicant lineage are significantly different social structures in their underlying logics. The patriclan is an ascriptive unit, into which one is born and which irreversibly defines who one is as a human being for the rest of one's life. The patriclan defines marriage and occupation. The lineage is a voluntary unit based upon the spiritual and intellectual conversion or awakening of each individual, who then joins the group of his or her own accord. Joining the lineage involves the individual renouncing those very bonds of marriage and occupation that define a patriclan. To try to fuse these two social units into a single organic whole was in the end a futile enterprise. This was illustrated graphically in Jñānsundar's own early adulthood, when he found his urge toward renunciation, toward the life of a mendicant in a *gacch*, incompatible with his life as a layman, as a married householder who was sexually active and siring children.

Caste and patriclan on the one hand, and *saṅgh* and *gacch* on the other, have never neatly overlapped in Jain history. Any given lay *saṅgh* will include members of several castes, such as Osvāl, Porvāl, and Śrīmālī. The lay membership in the *saṅgh* is shaped by residence, occupation, and familial allegiance. At the same time, members of a caste, such as the Osvāl, will include Jains who are by religious affiliation Mūrtipūjak, Sthānakvāsī, and Terāpanthī. Many castes further include both Jains and Hindus as well. Rarely if ever have these two social units come even close to being coterminous. Whereas Jñānsundar saw ideal Jain society as unified and holistic, in reality it has always been fractured and hybrid.

Notes

1. For previous references to Jñānsundar in English, see Babb 2004:164–78, Dundas 2002:247, and Wiley 2004:113–14.
2. Sthānakvāsīs have claimed for centuries that *caitya* here refers either to wise monks (*jñānī*) or that wisdom (*jñān*) itself, not to Jina images.
3. Information on Ratnavijay comes from Devguptsūri 1949.
4. See Jain and Kumār 2003:334–45 on this lineage.
5. See Wiley 2004:230 on Ācārya Vijay Dharmsūri (1868-1922). He was a major figure in the early twentieth-century reform and renaissance of the Tapā Gacch. He is best known to scholars of Jainism for the extensive help he gave to an entire generation of early European scholars.
6. The inscription read, "*saṃ. 602 vaiśākha māse śukla pakṣe tṛtayā upakeśa vaṃśe adityanāga gautre śāha . . .*" (Guṇsundar 1939:I:325). There is no reference to such an inscription from Osian in either Handa 1984 or Nahar 1918. According to Guṇsundar, Ratnavijay instructed the manager of the temple to place the image in the resthouse (*dharmśālā*) attached to the temple. We have no means of verifying this inscription, which would be by centuries the earliest reference to the Osvāl caste. Nor can we know which of the ruined temples Ratnavijay identified as Jain.
7. Paul Dundas has discussed the Jain hermeneutic principal of *madhyastha* (literally "standing in the middle," or what he translates as "principled neutrality" [2006:269]) and its role in Jain sectarian debates as practiced by medieval Tapā Gacch intellectuals such as Nayaprabhagaṇi, Mahopādhyāya Dharmasāgara, and Mahopādhyāya Yaśovijaya. The writings of the latter two were clearly known to Jñānsundar. Inquiry in the spirit of *madhyastha* requires the author to remain "between the two extremes of strong attachment (*rāga*) and aversion (*dveṣa*)" (Dundas 2004:128; see also 2006:106–07). When properly employed, however, this approach does not result in a *laissez-faire* sort of moral or intellectual relativism. Rather, being *madhyastha* leads the inquirer to correct faith (*samyagdṛṣṭi* or *samyaktva*) in the basic teachings of Jainism and the Jain path to liberation. Being *madhyastha*, therefore, requires one to reject improper views, just as a professional jeweler will reject a glass fake in favor of a real gem (ibid.:129).
8. See Dundas 2002:305–06 on Sīmandhara Svāmī.
9. My copy of *Mejhar Nāmā* is the 1935 fourth printing. I have a photocopy of only Jñānsundar's lengthy 66-page introduction to the poem, not the poem itself. As a result my discussion is based on his detailed summary of the contents.

10. According to Guṇsundar, Jñānsundar thought that this text was by the sixteenth century Tapā Gacch polemicist Upādhyāya Dharmsāgar. Many Jain sources have made the same attribution. However, it was actually authored by the earlier, late thirteenth-century Tapā Gacch polemicist Nayaprabhgaṇi, and the proper title was *Gurutattvapradīpa*, "Light on the Nature of a Spiritual Teacher." It is also known as the *Utsūtrakandakuddāla*, "The Spade to Dig Up the Roots of Heresy." Dharmsāgar obtained a copy and wrote a commentary on it. His attack on all other Jain lineages than the Tapā Gacch was so harsh that the leader of the Tapā Gacch, Ācārya Vijay Dānsūri, threw Dharmsāgar's text into a body of water, and ordered Dharmsāgar to publish a formal apology to the Jain community, in which he rejected what he had written. See Balbir 1999:16n23, Dundas 2004:127–30 and 2006, Darśanvijay 1950:257 (and following him Ratna Prabha Vijaya 1941–50:V.2:133–34).
11. On *yati*s and *caityavāsī*s see Cort 2001:43–46.
12. In addition to his normal activities, Ratnavijay arranged for Jñānsundar to study Sanskrit with Brahman *paṇḍit*s during both of his rainy-season retreats in Gujarat. As we have seen, Sthānakvāsī mendicants traditionally learned only the Prakrit root texts of the Jain scriptures, and to underscore the opinion that the Sanskrit commentaries were inauthentic they were forbidden even to learn Sanskrit. Thus mendicants who shifted from Sthānakvāsī to Mūrtipūjak had to undergo additional training to become full-fledged participants in the Mūrtipūjak intellectual culture.
13. Ācārya Nemisūri (1873–1949) was born in Mahuva in Saurashtra, and took initiation in 1889 from Muni Vṛddhivijay (1834–1893), a former Sthānakvāsī mendicant who was one of the leaders of the reform and renaissance of the Tapā Gacch in the late nineteenth century (and who also initiated Dharmvijay [Dharmsūri], Ratnavijay's guru) (anon. 1992). Nemisūri established a number of religious educational institutions, arranged for the renovation of several Jain shrines (including Kaparda, near Jodhpur, a shrine also important to Jñānsundar), preached to many Terāpanthī families in Mewar and claimed to have converted them to the Mūrtipūjak position, and initiated many mendicants. The sub-lineage (*samuday*) of his mendicant followers is among the largest in the Tapā Gacch today. See Śīlcandravijay 1973.
14. The one book-length biography of Nemisūri I have been able to consult (Śīlcandravijay 1973) contains no reference to this quarrel. The only reference to Jñānsundar comes in the context of the rainy season retreat Nemisūri spent in Phalodi in 1917. Jñānsundar was also there for his retreat. Śīlcandravijay simply mentions that the Mūrtipūjak *saṅgh* was divided into two parties, and that many mendicants, including Jñānsundar, had tried unsuccessfully to bring the two camps together. The lack of discussion of the quarrel between Jñānsundar and Nemisūri may well be because the author of this biography, Muni Śīlcandravijay (since 1996 Ācārya Vijay Śīlcandrasūri), who is one of the leading intellectuals among contemporary Jain mendicants, has a notably irenic personality, and so may have been reluctant to narrate an episode in which neither side comes across in a very good light for a Jain mendicant.
15. The Mūrtipūjak Jains of Ahmedabad in the early 1920s seem to have been keen on slapping their opponents in the face. See Albrecht Wezler's 1993 study of a medieval anti-Brahman text, with the equally pugnacious title, "A Slap on the Face of the Brahmans" (*Dvijavadanacapeṭā*), which was published by two Jain laymen in Ahmedabad in 1923.
16. The title page gives no name for the author; my supposition is based on the colophon verse, in which the author of the long polemical poem that takes up most of the pamphlet refers to himself as Devcandbhāī.
17. Nemisūri also cast aspersions on Jñānsundar's Mūrtipūjak initiation, in part because he argued that the initiations of both Ratnavijay and the latter's guru Dharmsūri were suspect (Guṇsundar 1939:I:429). The issue of the authenticity of Jñānsundar's initiation also surfaced in Surat in 1919, when Dharmsūri himself questioned Ratnavijay's authority to give Jñānsundar his second

confirming initiation (*baṛī dīkṣā*), and so refused to stay in the same *upāśray* with Jñānsundar (Guṇsundar 1939:I:569–71).

18. On the logic of intention, asceticism, and non-harm involved in the Mūrtipūjak mendicant food-gathering rounds, see Cort 1999 and Laidlaw 1995:289-344.
19. The discrepancy here probably stems from the fact that he recycled much material through many differently titled books, and issued multiple editions of many of his books—but he wrote a prodigious number of books however one counts the final total.
20. The use of the alternate, but in the nineteenth century more widespread, name of Kaṅvlā for the *gacch* caused some confusion over the ritual identity of the *gacch*, and led to some people identifying it as a branch of the Tapā Gacch. As an alternate near-homonym, some authors such as Jñānsundar and Śubhkarṇ also used Kamlā. From the early sixteenth through the early twentieth centuries there was a domesticated branch of the Tapā Gacch in southern Rajasthan known as the Kamalkalaś Śākhā or Gacch (on which see Śiv Prasād 2000:259–65 and Darśanvijay 1950:149–51); as of 1917, its head was Mahendrasūri, who resided in Rohida village near Abu (Buddhisāgarsūri 1917:115). The Gujarati Tapā Gacch Buddhisāgarsūri in his account conflated the two *gacch*s, and Guṇsundar reported that when Jñānsundar was in Gujarat many Tapā Gacch mendicants said they thought that the Upkeś or Kaṅvlā Gacch was merely a branch of the Tapā Gacch. Darśanvijay in a list of the thirteen seats (*besṇā*) of the domesticated Tapā Gacch includes the Koraṇṭ Gacch, which was actually a branch of the Upkeś Gacch (1950:256); he expressly says that all thirteen seats followed the same rules of conduct.

    Further complicating the overlap between the two *gacch*s is the Dvivandanak Gacch (whose followers followed or venerated [*vandan*] the teachings of two [*dvi*] Jinas, both Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra). This splinter group claimed to have split off from the Upkeś Gacch in the later centuries of the first millennium CE under the leadership of Udayvardhan (Tripuṭī Mahārāj 1952–64:I:36-38; Deśāī 1986–97:9:214-15). Another source dates the split to 1210 CE (*Upakeśa Gaccha Gurvāvalī*, p. 83). This lineage eventually merged into the Tapā Gacch as the Tapāratna Śākhā in the mid-sixteenth century. Tripuṭī Mahārāj hypothesize that the alternate name for the Upkeś Gacch of Kaṅvlā Gacch arose from an event in the history of the Dvivandanak Gacch. In the early sixteenth century the head of this lineage was one Ācārya Devguptsūri. He uttered a powerful mantra to hurl into the air the palanquin of Bahādur Śāh, the sultan of Gujarat. The sultan accepted the monk as his guru, and tried to gift him a village. The monk refused, so instead the sultan gave him a special shawl (*kambal* or *kaṅvlā*), from which the alternate name of the Upkeś Gacch derived.

    This multifaceted confusion of identity, coupled with the similarity in conduct, may well have allowed for the ease with which Jñānsundar's Upkeś Gacch mendicants and his lay Tapā Gacch followers in Marwar formed a single ritual culture.
21. The rotation earlier included Ratnaprabhsūri and Yakṣadevsūri; according to Upkeś Gacch history, these two were closed at the order of Sacciyā, the tutelary deity of the lineage, in the late fifth century (Devguptsūri 1943a; *Upakeśa Gaccha Paṭṭāvalī*, p. 190).
22. Yati Padamsundar of Bikaner told the following story. Kakksūri was overly involved in magical practices (*mantra-tantra*) according to the local laity. In particular, he accepted money for performing rituals for laity. He also sold the manuscript collection of the *upāśray* to a scrap paper dealer. In response, two *yati*s in the *gacch*, Premsundar (not the same as Muni Premsundar; Yati Premsundar occupied the seat in Phalodi, and often aided Jñānsundar in performing public rituals) and Mukansundar together with some local laity removed Kakksūri. Kakksūri left Bikaner and retired to the shrine of Kesariyājī in southern Rajasthan about 1930. There were further quarrels between the *yati*s and the local Upkeś Gacch laity, in large part over possession of the house, that resulted in several court cases. In the end Yati Mukansundar purchased the house from the laity.

Padamsundar was Mukansundar's disciple. According to another informant, the Phalodi seat came to an end when Premsundar died sometime in the 1950s or 1960s, and the Kaṅvlā Gacch laity of Phalodi all became Tapā Gacch.

23. Information on Guṇsundar comes from Tansukhdās 1939; I have been unable to ascertain where Guṇsundar died.
24. There was a *yati* living in Khimsar as late as 1980 according to *Tīrth Darśan* 1980:145.
25. Jñānsundar's efforts need to be seen as part of the larger social movements within the Jain communities in the early twentieth century of reform and definition (Cort 2000b).
26. See Cort 1995 for a preliminary discussion of Jain historiography.
27. For a modern presentation of the Khartar vision of Jain history, see Vinaysāgar 2004–06. For a modern Sthānakvāsī history, see Hastīmal 1971–83. See Tripuṭī Mahārāj 1952–64 for the most far-reaching presentation of the Tapā Gacch version of Jain history; a shorter English version of this history, largely derivative of Tripuṭī Mahārāj, is found in Ratna Prabha Vijaya 1941–50.
28. On Hastīmal (1910–1991), see Wiley 2004:94–95.
29. On the non-presence of the main Gujarati Tapā Gacch lineages in Marwar, see also Cort 2001:44–45.
30. These four were the Candra, Nivṛta, Nāgendra, and Vidyādhara. See Dundas 2006:12–13.
31. Information in English on these two *gacch*s is most readily available in Dundas 2006, Klatt 1882, and Wiley 2004:123–24 and 209–10.
32. "Conversion" is a misleading term here, as it is redolent with Christian missionary overtones. The relevant Indic term is *pratibodh*, "awakening [to the truth]."
33. Babb (2006:32) also reproduces a wall painting of the same theme from a Khartar Gacch temple in Jaipur.
34. In particular, in his 1926 *Jain Jāti Nirṇay* ("Judgment on Jain Castes") he criticized the 1910 *Mahājan Vaṃś Muktāvalī* by the Khartar Gacch Yati Rāmlāl on these grounds. See Babb 2004:154–58 on this text.
35. Magnasāgar was evidently a rather controversial person, of whom both Jñānsundar and Guṇsundar had a low opinion. By birth a poor Maiṇā tribal named Māṅgīlāl, his father gave him to the Sthānakvāsī mendicant Svāmī Karmcand in hopes this would increase his own wealth. When other Sthānakvāsī mendicants refused to eat or drink water with him due to his low caste status, Māṅgīlāl left the order and went to Ācārya Kṛpācandrasūri of the Khartar Gacch in Bombay. Kṛpācandrasūri enlisted him to try to bring Gayvarcand into the Khartar fold, and so Māṅgīlāl—by then going by the name Magnasāgar, and dressed as a Khartar Gacch *sādhu*, although the tone of Guṇsundar's description casts doubt on whether or not he had formally taken a new initiation—came to Osian in 1915. He failed in his errand, and asked the manager of the Osian temple for money for the railway fare to return to Bombay. In later years Magnasāgar convinced people to donate money for a rest house in his home village, but then simply passed the money on to his natal father. Guṇsundar also said that Magnasāgar was caught stealing manuscripts and an image from the library at Jaisalmer. Guṇsundar's presentation of Magnasāgar's conduct clearly was intended to show the staunch Jñānsundar in a good light.
36. Here Jñānsundar echoed Dharmsāgar's earlier derisive criticism; see Dundas 2002:246.
37. The relationship between the Jain king Kumārpāl and his royal preceptor Hemcandrasūri is well-known in the annals of western India Jainism (Cort 1998b). Jñānsundar interjected into this setting the head of the Upkeś Gacch as another royal preceptor, expanding upon a reference in Upkeś Gacch history (Hoernle 1890:241; *Upakeśa Gaccha Paṭṭāvali*, p. 191).

38. The basis for my dating is the colophons of the handwritten manuscript of the *Ūkeśa Gaccha Caritra* and the published edition of the *Nābhinandanajinoddhāra*. H. D. Velankar (1944:372) gives VS 1392 (1335 CE) as the date of composition. K. C. Jain (1972:180, 285) gives different dates for the two. He gives both 1326 CE and VS 1371 (= 1314 CE) as dates for the former text. He names the text *Upakeśa Gaccha Prabandha* in the first citation, and *Upakeśa Gaccha Caritra* in the second, and nowhere indicates what editions or manuscripts he used; in several places he simply cites Jñānsundar 1943a. He gives 1338 CE as the date for the latter text (ibid.:184, 437, 468). In addition to these two texts being credited to the same author, and the colophons giving the same year of composition, the two manuscripts—the original from which Jñānsundar made his copy of the *Ūkeśa Gaccha Caritra* that is now in Jodhpur, and the single manuscript (he was unable to locate any other manuscripts) in the Ḍahelānā Upāśray in Ahmedabad that Paṇḍit Bhagvāndās Harakhcand used for his 1929 edition—were both copied by the same otherwise unknown monk, Muni Kalaśa (he copied the *Nābhinandanajinoddhāra* alone, and the *Ūkeśa Gaccha Caritra* together with Muni Bhāvacandra), so the overlap may be scribal as much as authorial.
39. For example, while the *Upakeśa Gaccha Paṭṭāvali*, of which Hoernle (1890) gives an abbreviated translation, lists the heads of the *gacch* through the 84th, Siddhsūri, who was installed in Bikaner in 1878, the manuscript Hoernle used went only as far as the 75th head, Siddhsūri, who was installed in Bikaner in 1598. There is a clear break after Kakksūri, author of the *Upakeśa Gaccha Prabandha*, indicating that the chronicler who first compiled the *paṭṭāvali* relied heavily upon Kakksūri's work.
40. In Jodhpur we also found in a library of books that had belonged to Jñānsundar an exercise book with a hand-written copy of both the Sanskrit original and a Hindi translation of the *Upakeśa Gaccha Prabandha*, entitled in this case *Ūkeśa Gaccha Caritra*. We assume that this was Jñānsundar's personal copy, and one he had perhaps prepared for publication. If so, why it was not published remains a mystery.
41. The last reference to the Koraṇṭ Gacch in Śiv Prasād's history of it comes from 1555 (1989:16). Jñānsundar recorded that in 1843 the *śrīpūjya* (domesticated head) of the Koraṇṭ Gacch, Ajitsiṃhsūri, visited Bikaner, where he gave an Osvāl genealogical text to the then head of the Upkeś Gacch, Siddhsūri. Jñānsundar said that as of the time he was writing, there was no longer any Koraṇṭ Gacch *ācārya*, but that the buildings (*posālā*) of the Koraṇṭ Gacch *mahātmā*s were still extant in some towns of Marwar (Jñānsundar 1937a:28–29).
42. Babb 1996:137–73, 2004:162–78, and chapter two in this volume; see also Meister, chapter one in this volume.
43. This Upkeś Gacch account of the conversion of the Osvāls in Osian did not go unchallenged in the contentious context of sectarian rivalry in western India. Ṛṣimohanlāl Yati, in a book published in Bhagalpur, an important trading city on the Ganga in Bihar, wrote that Ratnaprabhsūri awoke the king of Osian to the truth of Jainism in 155 CE (212 VS) and made him a Jain. The residents of the city converted to Jainism at the same time. Ratnaprabhsūri made the king a Śrīśrīmāl, the rest of the royal family Śrīmāl, and the residents of the city Osvāl (Ṛṣimohanlāl 1907:29–30). With reference to what he calls the "eastern Śrīṃāls," Lawrence Babb (2004:152) has written, "the link between Śrīmāls and the Khartar Gacch is especially strong," so I surmise that Ṛṣimohanlāl was a Khartar Gacch *yati*. This account was known to Jñānsundar, as we found the book in the small library attached to the Mahāvīra temple in Osian, in which most of the books are from Jñānsundar's personal collection.

A second alternative account of the events at Osian more clearly fits them within a Khartar Gacch frame. Kṣemsiṃh M. Rāṭhoḍ was a Bīsā Osvāl from Kacch. In his 1948 history of the Osvāls—a book with an obvious emphasis on Osvāls in Gujarat—he said scholarly opinion was that all accounts of the conversion of the Osvāls to Jainism twenty-four hundred years ago are just folk sayings (*dānt kathā*). Rāṭhoḍ insisted that according to historically reliable sources, the Osvāls arose as a Jain community

only in the twelfth century. At that time all the inhabitants of the area around Osian were Śaiva. Many of them were left-handed Tantrics, descended from Vajrayāna Buddhists, who worshiped meat-eating goddesses such as Cāmuṇḍā, Mahāmāyā, Jogmāyā, and Osiyā.

The story of the conversion of the Osvāls told by Rāṭhoḍ bears strong similarity to the Upkeś Gacch version. According to Rāṭhoḍ, Jindattsūri (1075–1154), the charismatic leader of the Khartar Gacch, was responsible for the conversion of 130,000 Rājpūts to Jainism in the early twelfth century (see also Babb 1994:115–19, 160–67). He came to Osian with a small group of monks, and stayed on Luṇādrī Hill. Because the inhabitants of the town were all Śaiva, the monks could find nothing to eat. As they were preparing to leave town, a local man asked Jindattsūri to create a miracle (*camatkār*, *labdhi*) to convert the inhabitants. He agreed, and created an illusionary snake out of a ball of cotton. The snake bit Mahipāl, the son of the local king, the Parmār Utpāldev II. As the people were taking the body of the prince to be cremated, they met one of Jindattsūri's disciples, who led them to his guru. Jindattsūri revived the boy, and the king and most of the people accepted Jainism. The rest accepted Jainism after Jindattsūri defeated the rival religious teachers in a series of debates. He arranged for the new Jains to build temples to Pārśvanātha and other Jinas.

The local goddess, Osiyā Devī, became furious at Jindattsūri, blaming him for the people no longer offering her buffaloes and goats. She threatened him with her trident, and tried to sweep him away with a typhoon. But the power of his *mantra*s was much stronger, so he was able to convert her to eating only sweets (Rāṭhoḍ 1948:82–98).

The Khartar association with Osian is also seen in a small shrine attached to the Mahāvīra temple, in which is a three-dimensional image of Jindattsūri consecrated in 1897 CE (VS 1954), and a footprint image of another miracle-working Khartar Gacch leader, Jinkuśalsūri, consecrated in 1903 CE (VS 1960). Handa did not notice either of these in his otherwise comprehensive 1984 survey of the inscriptions from Osian. But informants assured us that the Jindattsūri image had been located in a prominent location before the reconfiguration of the temple compound in the 1960s and 1970s, so it is likely that the image has been in the temple premises since its consecration in 1903.

44. More significantly, she formed the image on Luṇādrī hill, where Ratnaprabhsūri and his followers had been staying, thus further emphasizing the near biological connections among Osian, the Osvāls, Jainism as embodied in a self-born autochthonous Jina image, and the Upkeś Gacch. As part of the rite of consecration of a Jina image, the officiating *ācārya* transmits some of his spiritual virtue, acquired through his asceticism and equanimity, into the image (Cort 2006). In this case Ratnaprabhsūri's ascetic powers on Luṇādrī hill helped shape the very image itself.
45. Vairūṭyā (also Vairoṭyā and Vairoṭī) is one of the sixteen Jain Mahāvidyās, a group of Tantric goddesses (Shah 1947:156–61). She appears originally to have been a goddess who protected against snakebite—a theme we have already encountered several times in this chapter—who was then incorporated into Jain Tantra. U. P. Shah (1987:278) has written that many images of Vairoṭyā are found at the medieval Jain temples at Abu and Kumbhariya, indicating that she was popular until at least the eleventh century CE. She was gradually eclipsed by Padmāvatī, another goddess associated with snakes and serpent deities, who is now by far the most popular Jain goddess among Jains of western India.
46. Agarcand Nāhṭā (1911–1983), a Khartar Gacch layman from Bikaner, was a prolific scholar of late medieval Jain texts from western India (Wiley 2004:152). I have seen neither of the articles by Nāhṭā and Ratnavijay. A similar list of details of practice in the Kavlā (Kaṅvlā) Gacch was published by Ācārya Buddhisāgarsūri (1917:117) around the same time as Ratnavijay's article, and either may be the original source for this information, or may derive from a third common source.
47. We found in the small library attached to the Mahāvīra temple in Osian a number of copies of a second Upkeś Gacch *Baṛī Pūjā*, written in 1915 by Śubhkarṇ Yati of Gwalior. He represented a branch of the

gacch—he terms it the Kamlā Gacch—that is otherwise unknown to me, but which indicates that the Upkeś Gacch was probably more widespread than just Marwar into the early decades of the twentieth century. He gave his lineage as follows:

Devguptsūri
↓
Pāṭhak Bhāmsundar
↓
Pāṭhak Kalyānsundar Muni
↓
Labdhisundar
↓
Pāṭhak Khuśyālsundar
↓
Vakhatsundar Gaṇi
↓
Lakṣmīsundar Kavirāj (his younger brother was Bhavānīsundar)
↓
Nyālsundar (younger brother of Nemsundar)
↓
Nāyaksundar
↓
Paṇḍit Viveksundar Gaṇi
↓
Sumatisundar (head of the *gacch* as of 1915).

48. On the Terāpanth and its social project, see Dundas 2002:254–62 and Flügel 1995–96.
49. He concluded his major study of the Jain castes, the 1929 *Jain Jāti Mahoday*, with a lengthy discussion of the causes for the fallen condition of Jain society. He recommended changing practices relating to child marriage, marriage of old men to young women, bride price, maltreatment of widows, conspicuous consumption, poverty, and other social customs. This was a litany common to many social reformers in India throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

9

Cleaving to the Goddess

LAWRENCE A. BABB

This final chapter traces the career of Dadhimatī and her temple as it evolved in the midst of accelerating social changes occurring during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The issue is caste and the kind of social identity it represents. During this period, elite members of many castes, in particular those most affected by urbanization and related social and economic changes, were beginning to develop new understandings of the nature of caste itself in parallel with new ways of managing their affairs as communities. These trends were very much part of the Dāhimā Brahman picture, and revolved, as we shall see, around changing conceptions of the relationship between the goddess and the Dāhimā Brahmans as a social entity. Although the caste is generally known as the Dāhimā or Dāymā Brahmans, many members prefer the designation "Dādhīc Brahman," a preference we shall respect in this chapter. As will be seen, this preference itself is part of our story.

The *Purāṇa*

In order to understand how the Dādhīc Brahmans rethought their caste identity, we must look closely at a book that expresses some of the key ideas in literary form. The book is the *Dadhimathī Purāṇa*, which is an account, in Sanskrit verse (966 verses in 23 chapters), of the origin of the Dādhīc Brahman caste and of the birth and activities of the goddess Dadhimatī.[1] It is impossible to say when or by whom the *Purāṇa* was actually composed, but much of its text appears to have been adopted from preexisting Sanskrit works. Its creator or creators were clearly well-versed in Sanskrit scripture, and just as clearly they

had—as we shall see—an agenda involving the identity of their caste. It was most recently published in Jaipur in 1981. The Introduction to that edition refers to an earlier edition published "fifty or sixty years ago" in Ratlam (in present-day Madhya Pradesh) by someone named Kanhaiyālāl Śarmā Mālodyā Pañcolī Dādhīc, about whom we are told nothing more. That would place the first publication in the 1920s (if, indeed, that was its first publication). Perhaps it was composed at that time, or perhaps earlier, or perhaps it was not composed at any single time. I believe that the best we can do is place its composition in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.

The published *Purāṇa* represented a new way of presenting the caste's account of its own beginning. Before the *Purāṇa* existed, and to a limited extent even today, traditional genealogists—in Rajasthan, known variously as Rāvs, Jāgās, or Bhāṭs—were the recorders and transmitters of the origin myths of many Rajasthani castes, including the Dādhīc Brahmans. At the time the *Purāṇa*'s publication, the origin myths of many castes were appearing in printed form for the first time, usually under the sponsorship of newly-emerging caste associations. By publishing their own versions of their castes' origin myths, caste elites were able to promote reconstituted versions of their castes' histories and social personalities. It must be borne in mind that this was a time of vast social and economic changes taking place all over India, including princely India, which created extraordinary opportunities—in trade, in the professions, in service occupations—for those castes whose members were well positioned to take advantage of them. These new circumstances created both the occasion and the need for updated, or modified, or in various ways sanitized or expurgated versions of caste origin myths, and the publication of such material became one of the most characteristic activities of caste associations.

While we lack detailed information about how these general developments affected the Dādhīc Brahmans, we do know that during this period significant numbers of this relatively well-educated community had already left, or were in the process of leaving, their region of origin to enter service occupations and the professions in towns and cities. This would continue, with the result that there are very few Dādhīc Brahmans living in Dadhimatī's hinterland today. The emigration of the Dādhīc Brahman caste is a crucial factor in our analysis, for the refurbished version of their caste identity, as embodied in the *Purāṇa*, originated in the Dādhīc diaspora. This was also the era of the formation of the Dādhīc Brahmans' caste association, which met for the first time in 1919.

The *Purāṇa* can be regarded as a window into the mindset of the caste's identity theorists as they found themselves confronting certain problems. One such problem was clearly caste unity, which was being tested in a new way by physical dispersal. As we shall see, producing a strong symbolism of caste solidarity was a key item on the *Purāṇa*'s agenda. I strongly suspect that another problem was sensitivity about the quality of their Brahmanical credentials, possibly a consequence of a movement into more cosmopolitan settings in which their status as Brahmans was potentially open to new kinds of scrutiny and challenge. They would have been coming into contact with other regionally prominent

Brahman castes, and also with members of higher status Brahman castes from other regions.[2] On the basis of informants' accounts, we know of at least one incident in the early twentieth century in which a member of the Gauṛ Brahman caste, alleging that he had seen a Dādhīc Brahman pouring water on a Śiva *linga* from a bag made of hide, declared the Dādhīc Brahmans to be Śūdras (or *"halkā Brahmans,"* as one Dādhīc informant said).[3] Reinforcing an unassailable Brahmanical pedigree was, as we shall see, another important agenda of the Purāṇa.

The *Purāṇa* has a long story to tell, set within a series of framing stories, and is far too complex a work to be summarized even in the sketchiest way here. But for our purposes it is enough to focus on the document's basic theme, which is that of constructing a version of Dādhīc Brahman identity. In order to accomplish this, the *Purāṇa* tells two ostensibly separate stories. One is an account of the creation of the Dādhīc Brahman caste, a story taking the form of a genealogy. The other is a narrative of Dadhimatī's origin and deeds. As will be seen, the text's true crux is the fusing of these two stories. We begin with the caste's origin story.

Origin

The Pedigree

The origin story (from which I have stripped a number of embellishments) begins at the beginning of the world when creator-god Brahmā appeared on a lotus growing from Viṣṇu's navel. Brahmā created the sage Atharvā (Skt. Atharvan), whose son was Dadhīci. (We shall return to further details about Dadhīci's birth later.) Pleased by Dadhīci's birth, Brahmā put special power in his body, and predicted that he would destroy demons and that he would be called "Dadhyaṅ" because he was the one who would sprinkle curds (17.16).[4] At a later point, Lord Śiva himself ordered Dadhīci to marry and create progeny, so Dadhīci brought a bride to his house, and then did 1,000 years (*divya*, or "divine" years) of asceticism. Śiva was pleased by this, and ordered him to perform "the asceticism (*tap*) of Dadhimathī [the spelling used in the *Purāṇa*]," saying that she would become "boon-giver" and would become *kul devī* for the protection of his lineage (18.1–4). When Dadhīci began his asceticism, the goddess herself appeared and gave boons and blessings.

Of all of the events of Dadhīci's life, however, the *Purāṇa* assigns greatest importance to his role in Indra's famous conflict with the demon, Vṛtrāsur.[5] In order to make a weapon for Indra to use in the fight, the gods went to Dadhīci to ask for his "body" (meaning his bones), which was filled with the influence of his *vidyā*, *vrat* and *tap*.[6] Knowing they were coming, Dadhīci put some of his semen in a dhoti that he gave to his wife for washing, and she became pregnant merely from standing in the water with it. This detail makes the related points that Dadhīci was a celibate ascetic and that his semen was especially powerful because of his asceticism. When his wife later made her *satī* vow after discovering that Dadhīci had given his life, she cut out her womb and gave it for safekeeping to Brahmā. Brahmā, in turn, entrusted the infant's care to some pipal trees, and from eating their fruit the infant acquired the name Pipplād.[7]

Pipplād was himself a sage of great ascetic power. He and his wife spent eighty-eight years practicing austerities, after which he divided his semen into twelve parts, put them into her womb, and became passionless. She then gave birth to twelve sons: Vṛhadvats, Gautam, Bhārgav, Bhāradvāj, Kaucchas, Kaśyap, Śāṇḍilya, Mahābhāg Atri, Parāśar, Kapil, Garg, and Laghuvats (elsewhere also known as Mam). They, in turn, became renowned sages, and each married and produced twelve sons of his own, who were also great sages.

In those days there was a mighty king named Māndhātā who wanted to conquer the three worlds. To this end, he asked the sage Vaśiṣṭh to perform a sacrifice. Vaśiṣṭh demurred and recommended Pipplād's 144 grandsons instead. On behalf of the king, the 144 sages performed a great vegetarian sacrifice for Dadhimatī, and the *kuṇḍ*—the sacrificial firepit—was what is now the circular bathing tank adjacent to the Dadhimatī temple (Plate 34). She manifested on the spot. They sang her praises. Noting that Dadhīci had given his bones to Indra, they asked that she become their clan goddess (*kul devī*) and fulfill the king's wishes. In response, she promised to be their clan "deity" (*kul devtā*), and added that anyone among them who worshiped a different deity would suffer sorrows and unrealized hopes. She also promised that the king's progeny would all be kings, and that, served by sages of purity (by implication the progeny of the 144), they would worship her emanations in that *kapālpīṭh*.[8] She insisted, however, that sacrifices to her should never involve killing animals. She said that bathing in the *kuṇḍ* would destroy sins, cure illnesses, and much else. She then stepped into the *kuṇḍ* and vanished. Then the king gave *dakṣiṇā* (payment for performing a ritual) to the "non-*dakṣiṇā*-desiring" 144 Brahmans; it consisted of a village and a virgin for each of them, "with pipal leaves" (26.61–2).

The genealogical myth ends here. It is, one can say, precisely at this point that the Dādhīc Brahman caste comes into existence. Now equipped with wives and land, the 144 sages become ex-sages and the apical ancestors of the 144 exogamous patriclans supposedly making up the Dādhīc Brahman caste.

Analysis

The genealogy is clearly a blend of disparate elements. Some of it comes from well-known texts, some from local traditions. Dadhīci was indeed the son of Atharvā, and a famous figure in his own right. The portrayal of Pipplād as Dadhīci's son has a somewhat more obscure textual basis.[9] Eleven of Pipplād's twelve sons are well-known sages and fixtures of Brahmanical genealogies, but Mam seems to be a less well-known addition. The detail of Dadhīci's 144 grandsons is probably a local tradition. Māndhātā is indeed a figure in the *Mahābhārata* (Vana Parva 126.1–40), but the tradition of Dadhīci's sons or grandsons officiating at a sacrifice sponsored by him at Goth-Manglod is obviously local.

Exactly how these materials came to be blended, and by whom, is hard to say. The blend, however, appears to predate the *Purāṇa*, and was probably acquired from the caste's traditional genealogists. This is suggested by the fact that in a version given in an article in the 1891 *Marwar Census Report* (Singh 1997:189–91), which makes no mention

of a *Purāṇa*, the line of descent is the same as given in the *Purāṇa* version, as is the role of Māndhātā's sacrifice. The continuity of the sacrificial motif through both versions of the genealogy is unsurprising, because the idea of the sacrifice as the catalyst for the creation or transformation of social groups is deeply embedded in the region's mythic syntax and a common feature of caste origin myths (Babb 2004).

Clearly, however, the *Purāṇa* authors put their own spin on the materials they had at hand. One example involves Pipplād's twelfth son, Mam. In the Census version, in a version reported in Jvālāprasād Miśra's *Jāti Bhāskar* (1996:177–79),[10] and in a version we heard from a traditional genealogist, Mam's descendants "fell away from *dharma*" (in the *Census*'s words), which is usually interpreted as their becoming Muslims. For this reason, they drop out of the caste's line of descent. The presence of this twelfth oddball sage in the group of sages is something of a mystery. It is possible that the original purpose of this part of the myth was to explain the presence of Dadhimatī-venerating Muslims in the region. We never encountered any of these, but many interviewees claimed that they once existed.[11] In any case, nothing is said of this apostasy in the *Purāṇa*. It is hard to imagine that the omission is inadvertent, and it might reflect a desire to suppress the notion that the Dādhīc Brahmans could possibly be agnatically related to a community of Muslims.

There is another alteration that strikes me as particularly significant, because it suggests a degree of alienation of the *Purāṇa* authors from the cultural world in which the genealogical myth originated. It has to do with the moment at which the 144 sages become "domesticated," which is the point at which they accept payment (the *dakṣiṇā*) for their performance of the sacrifice. To understand this incident, it is necessary to know two things. First, a sacrifice cannot be fruitful unless the priests are paid. Second, sages (and, at some ideal level, Brahmans generically) do not—or should not—wish to accept such payment, because doing so is inconsonant with world renunciation, which is held to be a defining Brahmanical virtue. Thus, the dilemma of *dakṣiṇā*.

I believe that the original Dādhīc origin myth resolved this dilemma by means of a myth-image of "subterfuge-by-leaf." James Tod mentions this concept in his *Annals* (1990:III:1629–30) in connection with the origin myth of a Brahman group, *jāti* unspecified, living in Mainar (near Udaipur). According to local legend, King Māndhātā sponsored a sacrifice there that was performed for him by two sages. At the rite's conclusion, the king managed to give them a grant of the lands of Mainar, which they did not want, by concealing it, presumably in the form of a written pledge, in folded betel leaves. In gaining the land, they lost their powers. Previously they had possessed the ability to throw their dhotis into the air after bathing where they would remain aloft, sheltering them from the sun. When the sages lost this power, they became farmers, and their descendants are the Brahmans of Mainar.

We came across the same myth-image when we interviewed a Rāv of the Dādhīc Brahmans in Borunda village in March 1998. His version of the Dādhīc origin myth ended with twelve sages (not 144), who were reluctant to take payment for the sacrifice they had performed for "King Mān." However, they finally accepted payment, which was pledged

in writing on betel leaves. Previously, they had possessed the ability to clean their dhotis by tossing them into the air after bathing; the freshly laundered dhotis would then fall back into their outstretched hands. But when they attempted this after performing the sacrifice, they discovered they had lost the power. Very upset, they went to Dadhimatī and confessed to taking payment (which in this version she had instructed them not to do). They then decided to curse King Mān, but when they got to the palace they found twelve women, twelve coins of gold, twelve cows, and twelve parcels of land waiting for each of them. When they asked for King Mān, the women informed the sages that they belonged to them, and would curse them if they were not accepted. So the sages returned to Dadhimatī accompanied by the women; she ordered them to accept the women, and added they would henceforth marry among themselves (that is, the sages' descendants would form an endogamous *jāti*).[12] They had twelve sons each, who were the 144 patriclan ancestors.

The basic theme underlying these variations, including the *Purāṇa* version, is the same: the domestication of sages in a genealogical frame of reference. The myth insists on the caste's descent from distinguished ascetic sages. This, however, presents a problem, which is that of accounting for the transition from ascetic sagedom to the ordinary householdership of patriclan ancestors. Matters come to a head when the time comes to pay the sages for priestly services. In the Tod and Rāv versions, the reluctance to accept payment is overcome by subterfuge. Even so, acceptance of payment results in a severe comedown, symbolized by the loss of magical power. The focus on these events is softened in the *Purāṇa* version. Here there is no subterfuge, although the appropriate reluctance to take payment is mentioned. Nothing is said of lost powers. The *Purāṇa*, I believe, attempts to minimize the sense of comedown that seems quite explicit in the less fastidious Tod and Rāv versions of the tale. That the *Purāṇa* version must have been built on a preexisting and more "folkish" foundation is suggested by the fact that *Purāṇa* mentions that the payment was given "with pipal leaves." But the *Purāṇa* provides no indication of why leaves are mentioned and gets the type of leaf wrong. I think the *Purāṇa* authors might not have understood the point of the episode, suggesting that they were operating at a significant social distance from the cultural milieu that produced the original versions of the Dādhīc origin myth.

Considered as a totality, the genealogy accomplishes two basic things. First, it provides a conceptual basis for a common *jāti* identity uniting a number of exogamous descent groups. The only numerical requirement is that the scheme be capacious enough to accommodate some plausible number of patriclan claimants to Dādhīc identity. The number 144 is a created but necessary convention. There has to be some number, and if you start with twelve, itself a recurrent number in the origin mythology of the region, 144 makes good sense. However, there were certainly never exactly 144 actual exogamous patriclans of the Dādhīc Brahman caste, a point to which we shall return. Second, the genealogy burnishes the Brahmanical ancestry of these patriclans, a feature present in all versions but emphasized by the *Purāṇa*, a document written in Sanskrit along Puranic lines. A Brahman caste must bear a distinguished Brahman pedigree. This the myth

supplies, originating from Brahmā and continuing through Dadhīci and his twelve grandsons. As we shall see later, however, the descent-group structure of the scheme cannot be fully Brahmanized.

But before returning to that issue, let us turn to the other principal story the *Purāṇa* tells, that of the goddess Dadhimatī.

The Goddess

Dadhimatī is very much a milky goddess. Dadhi means *dahī*, or curds, and in Sanskrit Dadhimatī means "she who possesses curds." This has apparently been her name for centuries, as evidenced by the fact she is so named in the seventh-century inscription found at the temple (Ram Karna 1911–12). The *Purāṇa*, however, calls her Dadhimathī, as does the Marwar *Census*. The word *mathi* means "churn," and I believe the *Purāṇa* uses it instead of *–matī* in order to render more plausible its own derivation of her name. According to the *Purāṇa*, she is so named because she assisted the gods in churning the milky-rice ocean (*khīrsāgar*), which she had magically turned into a curd ocean (*dadhisāgar*), in order to provide them with *amṛt*, the nectar of immortality (4.3–7).[13] Of course it is always possible that her original name was Dadhimathī, which was then Sankritized to Dadhimatī, in which case we can imagine that her name and persona emerged from a context of domestic worship in the region that focused in some way on milk and churning. In any case, and however you cut it, this is a goddess whose image is deeply connected with milk.

In consistency with Dadhimati's milkiness, her temple's origin myth connects her in a special way with local cowherds. This myth appears to be nearly universally known among her devotees, and is represented pictorially in the temple (Plate 28). According to the myth, the temple's site was at one time nothing but wilderness. The goddess appeared in a vision to a cowherd who happened to be at the spot, and told him that she was going to emerge from the ground, and that he should not be afraid (Plate 28). Some say that the cowherd was actually a Jāṭ, and the ancestor of the numerous Jāṭs of the area. When she began to come forth, there was a tremendous noise and shaking of the ground. Just at the point when her knee (or head, depending on the version) had emerged, the cowherd shouted "Stop, mother!" He was actually trying to call back his fleeing cows, but his cry had the effect of causing the goddess to stop emerging, which is why she takes the form of a low, aniconic stone.

It is important to note that the myth is about the emergence of the stone, not the building of the temple, which local tradition seems to regard as a separate matter. We heard various accounts of how the temple came to be built. According to one,[14] after the goddess emerged, the cowherd met a Dādhīc Brahman by the name of Viṣṇudās. He predicted that the cowherd would become the King of Udaipur. When the prediction came true, the cowherd, now turned king, built the temple. As it happens, Viṣṇudās was a genuine historical figure who persuaded the King of Udaipur to fund a major renovation of

the temple. This occurred, however, not in the primordial past but around 1850, which is an indication of the malleability of both narrative and time in the realm of myth.[15]

From all that we know of Dadhimatī, her relationship with her devotees was traditionally *territorial* in character. That is, she was, and perhaps for most of her local worshipers still is, a goddess linked with a particular *place*. (On the differences between deities of place, social groups, and devotional adoration, see chapter six of this volume.) This is indeed the point of the temple's origin myth, which is about how the goddess came to be manifested at a particular point on the earth's surface. She is the goddess of those who live in her vicinity, in her *kṣetra*. From this perspective, she is not the goddess of any particular caste or castes. Her point of connection with social structure is agnatic descent, which is the material out of which patriclans and their lineage segments are made. She is the goddess, that is, of descent groups that live or originate in the hinterland of her temple, and her connection with caste is an indirect byproduct of this. From a wider perspective, Dadhimatī's relationship with her devotees is an expression of regional identity, and not caste identity. We were told repeatedly that members of all the region's castes honor her as patriclan goddess.

This is not, however, the *Purāṇa*'s concept of her relationship with caste, as we now see.

Cleaving to the Goddess

Among the *Purāṇa's* most important assertions is the claim that Dadhimatī and Dadhīci are brother and sister. Indeed, this assertion is arguably the *Purāṇa*'s crux, for it is here that the text's two main narratives—one genealogical, the other the story of the goddess—become one. It is made fairly early in the text, and takes the form of a rather clumsy stitching of the one story to the other. The overall framing narrative is that of a conversation between Vaśiṣṭh and Himālaya, itself set within a conversation between Śiva and Pārvatī. Atharvā's marriage, Vaśiṣṭh says, was without issue. But then, on the advice of the sage Nārad, Atharvā and his wife performed a *vrat* (a votive fast) for the goddess Dadhimatī. She manifested, and granted the boon of a son. Atharvā's wife, however, pleaded for a daughter as well, and, in response, the goddess promised to take birth in their house and entered her womb (3.16–27). Dadhīci's birth took place at an unspecified later time, and is described at a later point in the text.

In the course of relating these details, the text takes a significant detour. Vaśiṣṭh tells Himālaya of how Nārad, in the course of telling Atharvā about the Dadhimatī vrat, also told of how he was told by Brahmā of a *mahākṣetra* of the goddess Mahāmāyā located 32 *kos* north of Pushkar[16] where the goddess's scull (*kapāl*) had fallen from Śiva's hand (3.32–5). Brahmā praises this place in the most extravagant terms. This is a reference to the Dadhimatī temple (or Dadhimatī, the goddess herself), and connects it to the famous incident in which portions of Satī's corpse, shed by grief-maddened Śiva as he rampaged around India, fell at fifty-one points on the earth that became sites of the goddess's power (*śakti pīṭhs*). This is a significant assertion to which we return below.

Dadhimatī's most illustrious deed, as recounted by the *Purāṇa* (7–16), was her defeat of a demon by the name of Vikaṭāsur, an event occurring in the *satyug*. It seems that, as a result of his austerities, Vikaṭāsur had won the boon from Brahmā that he could be killed only by a woman. Apparently invincible, he then attacked and defeated the gods, and built a magnificent city in the Curd Ocean. The desperate gods went to Viṣṇu for advice. He directed them to the goddess Ambikā (i.e., Dadhimatī), who had taken birth in Atharvā's house. They went there, praised the goddess, and begged for her help, which she agreed to give. A great battle ensued, to which the *Purāṇa* devotes much boilerplate descriptive text. The battle's details are not essential to the narrative, but it is worth noting that, in the course of the battle, the goddess generated various *śaktis* from her body—emanations taking the form of goddesses—who created huge havoc in the demon army. The goddess then made the pronouncement that people would worship these goddesses in their houses in the *kaliyug*, and that they would be *kul devīs* under various names. She then reabsorbed them.

The battle ended when the goddess and Vikaṭāsur engaged in personal combat in the Curd Ocean, culminating in the demon-king's death. According to the *Purāṇa*, Vikaṭāsur's bowels had contained *vastusār* (apparently an essence or force that gives the things of the world their qualities[17]) from before the *pralaya*. She removed the *vastusār*-impregnated bowels from his body and gave them to the gods. Viśvakarmā ground them up, mixed the *vastusār* into all *vastus* (i.e., all the things of the world), and in this way, the cosmos and the gods were re-empowered.

At the moment of her victory, the gods praised Dadhimatī in an extremely lengthy *stuti*. They invoked her as, among many other things, Dadhīci's boon-giver and chosen (*iṣṭ*) deity (16.35), as his clan goddess (16.37), and as having been "created" in Dadhīci's lineage (*kul*) (16.39).[18] This is the first a reader or auditor of the text will have heard of Dadhīci in quite some time. In response to the gods' praises, she proclaimed that the day she killed Vikaṭāsur, the bright eighth of the month of Māgh, would thenceforth be known as *jayāṣṭmī*, and that those who celebrate it would have obstacles removed. She then (after giving the *vastusār* to the gods) returned to Atharvā's *āśram*. At this point, the text turns to Dadhīci's birth and the development of the Dādhīc genealogy.

The two narratives converge again at the point of Māndhātā's sacrifice, where, as noted earlier, she pledges to be the Dādhīc Brahmans' patriclan deity and to fulfill Māndhātā's wishes, and then vanishes in the *kuṇḍ*. It is at this point that King Māndhātā gives payment to the 144 priests.

The *Purāṇa* now moves to its conclusion (chapter 23). By the grace of the goddess, Māndhātā became ruler of the earth, honored by the gods. By worshiping the goddess he became the father of three glorious sons and fifty daughters, and prospered greatly. Therefore, the text asserts, doing her *pūjā* can bring every kind of abundance. The text then launches into a lengthy description of the kinds of offerings and observances with which one can honor the goddess, and the benefits of each. The text sternly admonishes Dādhīc Brahmans to worship Dadhimatī, a point to which we return below. The final lines wrap up

the framing story and end by affirming the benefits realized by those who hear the *Purāṇa* and stressing the need to give gifts and respect to those who recite it.

Analysis

The *Purāṇa*'s portrayal of the goddess quite obviously borrows heavily from preexisting mythic motifs (and text), which it has recast to suit its own agenda. What we have is the image of a demon-destroying, martial goddess, well known to Puranic and Epic tradition. The *Purāṇa* reworks this image in two ways. First, the generic goddess is recast as a Sanskritized version of a local goddess. Given the milkiness of her local persona, the *Purāṇa*'s emphasis on the Curd Ocean as the venue of the great battle with the demons makes good sense as a Sanskritizing context. Second, having been Sankritized, the goddess is brought into a very special relation with the Dādhīc Brahmans.

In expanding on these points, let us begin by noting that the *Purāṇa*'s representation of Dadhimatī can be seen as an inversion of her traditional image in the region. That image, as we know, is territorial—she is a goddess who belongs to a place, and the place, in a sense, belongs to her. The emphasis is on autochthony, for it is *here* at *this place* that she came from the earth itself. Very different is the *Purāṇa*'s viewpoint. The text says nothing whatsoever about the goddess emerging from the ground. Instead, it refers to the location of the temple in the context of the Satī myth. The Satī myth, of course, is also "positional," but its directionality different. The cowherd myth pulls the goddess up from the ground. The Satī myth, in the *Purāṇa* version as in all versions, pulls the goddess down from the sky. In doing so, it metaphorically shifts the focus away from autochthony and toward the subcontinental universalism of pan-Indian traditions carried by texts.

In consistency with this, the *Purāṇa*'s main focus is not on the temple (of which it says nothing) or the goddess's image (the skull, not dwelt upon) but on the *kuṇḍ*. In the *Purāṇa*'s view, the *kuṇḍ* was the place where the goddess's most significant local manifestation occurred, not the temple. The context of this appearance was a Brahmanical sacrifice to her. And crucially, the *Purāṇa* states that it was this sacrifice that connected the Dādhīc Brahmans into the local social framework, and not prior residency in her territory. Indeed, they settle on the territory only because of the gifts of land, a product of their sacrificial relationship with the king. One implication of this is that apart from Māndhātā and his descendants (who, as far as I know, are not in any way identified with any part of the current regional social scene), this connection—unlike a purely territorial one—is of a sort that cannot be shared with others.[19]

Having uprooted her from the soil, the text configures Dadhimatī as the *caste* deity of the Dādhīc Brahmans. The difference between a caste deity and what she was before is subtle but, in my opinion, significant. Clearly there had always been a special relationship between Dadhimatī and the Dādhīc Brahmans, as the designation Dāhimā shows (a point to be addressed below). But this was a relationship conceptualized on the pattern of clan or lineage goddesshood (i.e., *kul*-goddesshood), which was the same basic pattern as her relationship with the region's other communities. That is, she was the clan goddess of

those who lived in her territory, which included Brahmans and many others. From this perspective, she did indeed have a special relationship with *all* the Dādhīc Brahmans, but the relationship was conceived in terms of *kul*, not caste. Even today, Dādhīc informants sometimes say that they have a special relationship with her as a caste precisely because she is the clan goddess of *all* the Dādhīc clans, whereas she is only the goddess of *some* of the clans of other castes. I believe, however, that the *Purāṇa* escalates matters. Now Brahmanized and conceptually uprooted from her native soil, Dadhimatī becomes the goddess of a caste as a caste. As the *Purāṇa* comes to its end, it therefore admonishes Dādhīc Brahmans to worship Dadhimatī, and devotes six stanzas (23.25–30) to making the point that any "Dādhīc" who fails to worship her is "no Dādhīc." This is an expression of a ritual obligation of caste membership, now drifting free of patriclan anchoring.[20]

All of this is reinforced by the manner in which the *Purāṇa* fuses the genealogy to Dadhimatī's story. It does so by portraying her as the sister of Dadhīci. Dadhīci is the apical ancestor of the entire caste and the figure whose own attributes are definitive of the caste's concept of itself as a Brahman caste. As Dadhīci's sister, Dadhimatī enters an agnatic relationship with the caste as a whole, becoming something like a perpetual father's sister, and the relationship partakes of the caste's Brahman status. For a *kul devī* to be seen as an agnate is, I believe, unusual. If anything, the in-marrying bride is a more likely kinship paradigm, for this is the usual relationship between *satīs*—who to some extent occupy the same conceptual and ritual niche as *kul devīs* generically—and the descent groups that venerate them (see Harlan 1992, esp. 133–38). For the Dādhīc Brahmans to claim Dadhimatī as an agnate differentiates them with special clarity from the wider regional congeries of Dadhimatī-worshiping castes. As in the case of the ritual relationship with King Māndhātā, this is a relationship that cannot be shared with other groups.

A notable feature of the *Purāṇa* is its insistent use of the term "Dādhīc" Brahman. It is almost as if the Dādhīc Brahmans have deracinated themselves in parallel with their deracination of their goddess. I say this because the alternative terms—still in general use today—closely link the community to the territory that forms Dadhimatī's hinterland. These terms are "Dāhimā" or "Dāymā" Brahman, and they are clearly references to Dadhimatī as a milky local goddess. It is likely that both terms connect *dahī* (curds) and *mā* (mother)—i.e., as "Curd Mother." Brahmans who came from her territory, her *kṣetra*, were therefore "*Dāhimā*" Brahmans.[21] The Dādhīc Brahmans obviously do not wish to suppress their relationship with Dadhimatī, for she is at the heart of their identity as a caste, especially the kind of caste identity we have seen exemplified in the *Purāṇa*. The caste's magazine, after all, is called *Dadhimatī*. But the designation "Dādhīc" Brahman preserves the relationship with her (as Dadhīci's sister) while shedding the regional association in favor of a more universalistic and high-culture Brahmanical identification with the sage Dadhīci.[22] This clearly why the *Purāṇa* favors "Dādhīc," and never uses the term "Dāhimā." However, although many members of the caste prefer "Dādhīc" nowadays, "Dāhimā" continues to dominate ordinary discourse.

Fallout

The *Purāṇa* is a manifestation of an effort on the part of an educated and activist element among the Dādhīc Brahmans to reconfigure their identity as a community in a way that diverged significantly from older traditions. It is difficult to imagine such surgery on tradition not generating unintended problems, and this has indeed happened. In the remainder of this chapter, I would like to discuss briefly two such difficulties, one internal to the caste, the other in its external relations with other groups. Internally, the reconstructed image of the caste brought certain contradictions in the genealogy into awkward visibility. Externally, the caste's new self-concept generated tension in its relations with other groups in its region of origin.

Brahmanical Kinship

The genealogical problem stems from the fact that Dādhīc Brahmans have committed themselves to a genealogy that, while highly Brahmanical in the ancestry claimed, is fundamentally un-Brahmanical in structure. Ironically, the semi-canonicity of the *Purāṇa*, a document that itself expresses a strong Brahmanizing impulse, has probably locked them into this awkward commitment once and for all.

There is nothing in the least problematic about the genealogy's basic structure, which is that a segmentary system of patrilineages united by common descent from an eponymous ancestor (eponymous, that is, if one insists on "Dādhīc" as the caste's name). Its underlying function is threefold: to provide a Brahmanical pedigree for the Dādhīc Brahmans, to distinguish them from other Brahmans, and to account for the existence of a large number of exogamous patriclans. The pedigree establishing Brahman credentials is the line of descent from Brahmā through Atharvā to Dadhīci.[23] In turn, the claim of descent from *Dadhīci* distinguishes the Dādhīc Brahmans as a separate Brahman *jāti*. And the inflationary burst of Pipplād's descendants creates a sufficient number of empty lineage slots to provide a reasonable if loose fit between the top-down pedigree and the bottom-up social reality of patriclans claiming Dādhīc identity.

The true heart of the genealogy is the claim of descent from Dadhīci, for this is the core of Dādhīc caste identity as constructed by the *Purāṇa*. We cannot know exactly when or how Dadhīci came to be seen as the caste's apical ancestor. On the assumption that the community described in the seventh-century inscription really is ancestral to contemporary Dādhīc Brahmans (a very big assumption, in my view), and assuming also that "Dadhya" has something to do with "Dadhīci," it is possibly very ancient. Ram Karna and Asopa, however, believe that the appellation "Dadhya" Brahman, as found in the inscription, refers to the goddess Dadhimatī rather than the sage Dadhīci (Ram Karna 1911–12:299; Asopa 1988:34). I think it is a reasonable hypothesis that this claim of Dadhīci as caste ancestor has been laid over a primordial caste identity based on the caste's territorial or residential connection with milky Dadhimatī. Even today, the appellation "Dāhimā Brahman" remains entrenched in ordinary speech, despite efforts (of which the

Purāṇa represents an example) to supplant it with "Dādhīc Brahman." As for how Dadhīci was chosen, there is at least a nominal milk connection, for Dadhīci/Dadhyaṅ/Dadhyañc mean "sprinkling curds."

But whatever the antiquity of the connection, and however it might have first been conceived, it is given special emphasis in the *Purāṇa*, which is of a piece with a broader emphasis on polishing up the caste's Brahmanical image. It is, of course, a distinguished Brahman pedigree. But perhaps even more important, by shifting the focus from a regionally-defined identity (Dāhimā) to an identity anchored in Brahmanical descent (Dādhīc), the *Purāṇa* constructs an identity that is both less parochial and more suited to a community increasingly living in diaspora.

There are, however, two problems with the genealogy, one minor and one not so minor. Both have to do with the fact that the scheme is supposed to support a claim of *Brahman* identity. The lesser problem arises from the seemingly inherent contradiction in establishing Brahmanical qualities (as opposed to other qualities a group might have) on the basis of physical descent. How can Brahmans be Brahmans because of descent from ascetic sages if the sages in question are truly ascetic? This is the point of the unusual manner in which of Dadhīci and Pipplād produce their sons.[24] The more difficult issue is that a Brahmanical system of descent, as idealized in the classical genealogical texts, requires *gotra*s. The term *gotra* is, of course, quite commonly used by Rajasthanis to refer to patriclans or patrilineages. This is fine, so long as the context is not Brahmanical. For a caste to claim Brahmanical descent, however, carries the implication that its *gotra*s are of the proper Brahmanical kind, and the Brahmanical system bears little resemblance to the normal descent structure of Rajasthani castes, and this includes the Dādhīc Brahmans.

To explain the nature of the classical Brahman *gotra* system fully is far beyond the scope of this chapter. In essence, however, it is a system of exogamous patriclans, each of which traces descent to a particular founding sage (*ṛṣi*).[25] The founding sages are presented in standard lists, usually of seven or eight. As given by Baudhāyana, for example, the list consists of a group known as the "seven sages"—Jamadagni, Gautama, Bharadvāja, Aṭri, Viśvāmitra, Kaśyapa, and Vasiṣṭha (our Vaśiṣṭh)—with Agastya added as the eighth. The basic list, usually said to be Brahmā's "mind-born" sons, changed over time, but the principle of exogamy on the basis of descent from eponymous sage-ancestors remained stable.[26] An additional complication was a supplementary rule of exogamy based on *pravara*. The term *pravara* refers to a list of sage-ancestors, usually three, in a given family's line of descent, one of which will be that of the founding sage of the family's *gotra*. Different *pravara* lists form the basis of subdivisions of each *gotra* known as *gaṇa*s. The normal rule is that persons whose *pravara* lists have one name in common may not marry, so the principles of *gotra* and *pravara* exogamy coincide.

At some point in time (we cannot know exactly when, except that it predates the *Purāṇa*) the Dādhīc Brahmans duly supplied their descent system with Brahmanical, or Brahmanical-seeming, *gotra*s. This is the reason for the presence of the twelve named sage-sons of Pipplād in the genealogy; they are there in order to supply the apical

sage-ancestors of twelve (or, given the apostasy of Mam's progeny, eleven) *gotra*s, which are then further subdivided into branches (the actual exogamous patriclans), in theory numbering 144 (or 132, if Mam's descendants are out of the picture). Obviously, however, the *gotra*s were simply imposed upon an already existing system of exogamous patriclans. This scheme was already in place by the late nineteenth century, as we see from the fact that the *Marwar Census Report* lists eleven "*gotra*s" with 88 "*khāmp*s" distributed among them. There are, however, two big problems with this scheme: a lack of fit with the idealized Brahmanical *gotra* system, and a lack of fit with the on-the-ground realities of Dādhīc Brahman marriage patterns.

On the issue of fit with the idealized Brahmanical system, the essential difficulty, and it is truly basic, is the impossibility of reconciling the Dādhīc Brahman claim of a single apical sage-ancestor for the caste as a whole with the classical Brahmanical system. As we have said, Dadhīci's ancestral role is central to the caste's claim of a Brahman pedigree and to its social identity vis-à-vis other Brahmans. But that claim turns the entire caste into a quasi *gotra*. One potential problem created by this is that of incest, because persons related by agnatic descent should not marry. When presented with this problem, some informants attempted to solve it by suggesting that descent from Dadhīci was disciplic in nature, not biological. This, however, does not fit very well with the *Purāṇa*'s emphasis on semen. Nevertheless, the incest issue is not generally perceived as a problem, most people apparently feeling that the connection is simply too distant to matter. But we should also note that it is structurally impossible for the problem to be acknowledged. If you wish to define *jāti* identity in terms of common agnatic descent from a single ancestor, you have to ignore the issue of incest.

Another problem is that of differentiating *gotra*s when you have already established a single sage-ancestor for the caste as a whole. The genealogy differentiates the *gotra*s by tracing their descent to Pipplād's twelve (or eleven) sons. This, however, requires that the *gotra*s' sage-ancestors be Dadhīci's descendants, which means that they cannot be Brahmā's mind-born sons. Of course, even Dadhīci cannot have this status, because the *Ṛg Veda* already supplies him with a father, namely Atharvā. Myth (or some myth), however, represents Atharvā himself as Brahmā's eldest son (Dowson 1972:31; his source not named). In any case, the *Purāṇa* deals with Atharvā's birth in a somewhat odd manner. The relevant lines (1.18–19) state that having "seen" Marīci (a famous sage) "and the other sages," Brahmā got them married. Then, in the very next couplet, we learn that "after this" Brahmā created Atharvā and arranged for his marriage. I suspect that the purpose of mentioning only Marīci is both to detract attention from the idea of a fixed and canonical list of seven (or more) famous sages, and to avoid a glaring contradiction by naming sages as Brahmā's mind-born sons who appear later in the *Purāṇa* as Dadhīci's grandsons. I also suspect that placing Atharvā's creation "later" is to avoid the appearance of trying to shoehorn Atharvā into otherwise well-known lists of sages that (judging from Mitchiner's account) do not traditionally include Atharvā. These maneuverings reflect the efforts of

the *Purāṇa* authors to stitch together, in a plausible manner, textual materials drawn from different sources and different contexts.

An even more basic difficulty with the scheme, however, is that it has no relationship with the social reality of exogamy. Exogamy belongs to that part of the Dādhīc lineage system that came from the bottom up. From the start, that is, it was a property of already existing exogamous clans, and this has remained true to the present day. In this respect, the system is identical in its essentials to the clan and lineage systems of many other Rajasthani castes.[27] An instructive glimpse into the actual working system is provided by a list of registrants for a marriage fair held in Indore in 1994 (*Dadhimatī* 1994:10–24). There were 183 registrants, boys and girls, and almost every registrant listed two *śākhā*s (i.e., exogamous patriclans), the father's and mother's. None mentioned *gotra*s. As best I can determine, only 69 *śākhā* names occur in this list. Of these, a significant proportion (about 18) is not to be found in a published list of 90 more or less canonical Dādhīc Brahman *śākhā*s (Jośī, n.d.).[28] Also, about a dozen of the names on the list of registrants occur far more frequently than others. These points suggest that *gotra* is simply not a consideration in calculations of exogamy, that most Dādhīc Brahmans belong to a relatively few large patriclans, and that the notion of 144 patriclans is (as we have already said) a convention, an arithmetic contrivance, based on the number twelve. In any case, Dādhīc respondents repeatedly told us that few Dādhīc Brahmans actually know their *gotra*s, and that the actual units of exogamy are the patriclans.

As far as one can tell, this disjunction between theory and practice was never a problem before the twentieth century. And let us be clear on one other point: the problem was never that Dādhīc Brahmans needed to know their *gotra*s in order to contract marriages. Since *gotra*s never regulated marriage among the Dādhīc Brahmans, there was no way *gotra* membership could present difficulties in marriage negotiations. The difficulty, rather, appears to have been a growing sensitivity about the pure functionlessness of the *gotra* system in the context of the Brahmanization impulse so well embodied by the *Purāṇa*. As caste self-conceptualization became more systematized and comprehensive under the aegis of the Dādhīcs' caste association, the *gotra* situation came to be perceived as a kind of scandal. Thus it was that at its fifteenth annual meeting (in 1924) in Calcutta, the Akhil Bhāratvarṣīya Dāymā Mahāsabhā unanimously passed the following motion (Vaidya 1924:unnumbered page):

> The Mahāsabhā regards *sagotra* [intra-*gotra*] marriages as inappropriate by *śāstrīya* [orthodox] standards, but because by custom such marriages are seen here and there, we urge gentlemen of the caste to try to bring this practice gradually to a halt.

This resolution became the inspiration for a very interesting booklet entitled *Dādhīc Vaṃśotpatti va Gotrāvalī* (Vaidya 1924) that was written with the express purpose of making it possible for caste members to adhere to rules of *gotra* exogamy. The problem was that most Dādhīc Brahmans, then as now, did not know their *gotra*s. In the author's words (ibid.: "*Samarpaṇ*," unnumbered page), "in each *gotra* are several *śākhā*s or

*nakh*s," and if caste members do not have a full understanding of this they will certainly "eat falsity [be deceived]" and marry within the *gotra*. He goes on to point out that all Hindus know that those belonging to the same *gotra* are *gotraj bhāī* (i.e., *gotra* siblings), and that marriage between them is equivalent to brother-sister marriage and will without doubt take them to hell. *Every Brahman community in India*, he says, observes this rule. He then adds that *Dharmaśāstra* forgives those who act wrongly in ignorance, but in the future, marriages within the *gotra*s must stop. The body of the book consists of a reiteration of the caste's genealogy—in essence the same as the version given earlier—followed by a list of *gotra*s and their constituent *śākhā*s, based, he says, on the records of Rāvs, and various books such as Paṇḍit Jvālāprasād Miśra's *Jātibhāskar* and Paṇḍit Harikṛṣṇa Śāstrī's *Brāhmaṇotpatti Mārttāṇḍ*.[29]

But all of this was for naught, because it is clear that while the Dādhīc Brahmans' patriclan and lineage system can certainly coexist with nominal or non-functional Brahmanical *gotra*s, it *cannot actually be made into a top-down system* of Brahmanical *gotra*s. This is because it is a completely different system, built (as we have said) from the bottom up on the foundation of forms of kinship and descent typical of the Rajasthani countryside. These same forms persist today, and most Dādhīc Brahmans remain ignorant of their *gotra*s. This circumstance poses an absolute limit to the Brahmanization of the Dādhīc Brahman caste, and I think this must be true of other Brahman castes as well. It would be of great interest to see how other Brahman castes, faced with similar problems of Brahmanization and rationalization of their descent systems, engage these issues. This is, however, a comparative Brahmanology yet to be researched and written.

Temple Disputes

In the matter of the caste's external relations, we find that that the Dādhīc Brahmans' shifting relationship with the goddess has led to disequilibrium in the web of their relationships with other groups. Because my colleagues have already covered this ground in other chapters of this volume, I won't linger over the matter here. I only want to make the point that, to the extent that Dādhīc Brahman identity came to be focused on a notion of exclusive ties with Dadhimatī, there was bound to be conflict with others, because the goddess was and remains ritually important to the other communities living in her vicinity. She is, that is to say, their goddess, too.

One conflict that arose early in the twentieth century (apparently beginning in 1912) was between the Dādhīc Brahmans, then newly-organized under the umbrella of their caste association (founded in 1910), and the Dadhimatī temple's priests (*pujārī*s) (on these matters, see esp. Cort's chapter seven of this volume). The priests were Parāsars, not Dādhīc Brahmans, and it is likely that they had more or less run the temple during the nineteenth century. It appears that they attempted to obtain legal sanction for their control in court by claiming some kind of ancient connection with the temple. They lost the case in 1918, and the seventh-century inscription, with its reference to ancient "Dadhya"

Brahmans, was produced in evidence against them. As Cort points out, they had little chance of success, given their relative weakness compared to the cosmopolitan Dādhīc Brahmans, many of whom were politically well placed in the region's indigenous states.

It is probable that this conflict broke out when it did as a result of changes then taking place on the Dādhīc side. This was the period in which the reconfiguration of Dādhīc identity was fully in process and in which its institutional embodiment, the national association, had recently come into existence. The fact that the association's first and subsequent meetings took place on the temple premises must have been a major provocation. We can imagine that the priests, sensing the wind's direction, decided that it was now or never to make their move.

More significant than the conflict with the priests, however, has been a struggle for control of the temple between the Dādhīc Brahmans and the Jāṭs living in the temple's vicinity (chapter seven). The Jāṭs are extremely numerous in the region, and may said to be the locally dominant caste. As best we can determine, the Jāṭs opposing the Brahmans mostly belong to a subgroup known as Biḍyāsar, an exogamous patriclan of the Jāṭ caste. Their own origin mythology connects them with Dadhimatī, whom they regard as clan goddess. The issues involved in the dispute are both material and ritual-symbolic. Material interests arise because those who control the temple have control of income-producing land adjacent to the temple and access to revenues from the shops set up during the twice-yearly fairs. The ritual symbolic issues have to do with control of the temple as an expression of group identity.

The history of the conflict is tangled and contested. Our knowledge of it is largely based on the somewhat inconsistent testimony of three Dādhīc informants who were, in different ways, involved in the events in question.[30] Judging from what we were told, the conflict's first stirrings occurred in the early twentieth century when the Brahmans began to hold their association meetings at the temple premises. We do not know exactly what happened at that point, but no legal case was involved, and the Brahmans appear to have prevailed. As in their dispute with the temple priests, the Brahmans had cultural and social capital at their disposal that was largely unavailable to their rustic Jāṭ rivals in those days. So matters remained until the post-Independence period when the Jāṭs emerged as a political power to be reckoned with. In the early 1950s, a prominent Jāṭ politician from Nagaur tried to establish a boarding school for Jāṭs on the temple premises, but was unsuccessful. After a hiatus, matters escalated in 1971 or 1972, when the Brahmans created a Trust to run the temple.[31] This resulted in conflict with the Jāṭs that culminated in a court case, filed by the Brahmans, claiming (as we understand it) exclusive rights to the management of the temple. Our respondents give different dates for these events, but in either 1983 or 1990 the Brahmans won the case and control of the temple. The role of Viṣṇudās in the mid-nineteenth century renovation of the temple apparently played a role in buttressing the Brahmans' case, with documents from Udaipur submitted in evidence.

And so the matter stands today—at least for now. Although the Jāṭs continue to agitate at the fairs (according to the Brahmans), the Brahmans do indeed control the temple today and dominate the fairs. A ritual-symbolic affirmation of this state of affairs is the existence of a shrine containing an image of Dadhīci as part of the temple complex. Although the image is older, it was installed in the shrine in 1976 (chapter five), which would have been at the height of the conflict with the Jāṭs. A prominent Dādhīc Brahman activist built this shrine, and in his interview with us he declared his intention to us to build a shrine to Pipplād as well. The Dādhīc shrine completes in architecture what was begun in Sanskrit verse in the *Purāṇa*, which is the fusion of the story of the goddess with the genealogy. At last sister and brother (as the Dādhīc Brahmans maintain) sit side-by-side as a joint embodiment of the social identity of the Dādhīc Brahman caste.

As we have seen, this state of affairs culminates a process that started early in the twentieth century when the caste was becoming physically more scattered than previously, and was—I believe in response—developing a new kind of self-awareness as a caste. Ironically, as the Dādhīc Brahmans left Dadhimatī's presence, they needed her all the more as a symbol of the moral force of the ties that bound and still bind them together as a community. This need has brought them into conflict with others in a way that Brahmanizing their genealogy never could. If the Dādhīc Brahmans want to refine their rules of exogamy, that is nobody's business but their own. But when they claim as their own a goddess who previously belonged to everybody, this is likely to have broader consequences. Having found, in Dadhimatī, a powerful symbolic focus for their own modern identity as a caste, the Dādhīc Brahmans reversed the process: they imposed their identity, as a caste, on her. The resulting disturbances of the social order in her hinterland have probably yet to play out fully.

Notes

1. My analysis is based on the Hindi translation published with the Sanskrit original. Steve Heim assisted in checking key passages against the Sanskrit, for which I extend to him my warm thanks.
2. I thank Catherine Clémentin-Ojha for the perceptive suggestion that extra-regional Brahmans probably also served as relevant cultural models, and quite possibly as the most important models.
3. One of our informants seemed to suggest that this insult was directly responsible for the creation of the *Purāṇa*. The *Purāṇa*'s publication was instigated, he added, by Shiv Shakti Rai, a Dādhīc Brahman who was then prime minister of Ratlam State. This name, however, does not appear in the Introduction to the 1981 edition, which does mention other supporters of the Ratlam publication.
4. For some reason the Hindi translator renders this as perform "*pūjā* of *dadhi*" and glosses *dadhi* (in parentheses) as "*Brahm*." I do not understand what the translator was trying to do.
5. The *Purāṇa* also retells the story (told originally in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*) of Indra's beheading of Dadhīci because he had accepted the Aśvinkumārs as pupils. See O'Flaherty 1975:56–60.
6. The *Purāṇa* does not include a detail found in other versions of the story, including the version on the Dadhimatī temple's website (http://dadhich.com/index.htm), which is that the gods had given

Dadhīci their weapons for safekeeping, and that he had dissolved them in water that he then drank. We heard a variant of this in Borunda village from a Rāv of the Dādhīc Brahmans. According to the Rāv's story, Dadhīci used Indra's *vajra* to grind his *bhāṅg*; as the *vajra* wore down, Dadhīci gradually absorbed all the particles in his bones.

7. This story obviously has some link with episodes in the *Śiva Purāṇa*. In O'Flaherty's retelling, "Pipplāda was born when a pregnant woman mounted her husband's funeral pyre; another version states that he was born when a woman wearing the loincloth of her brother, stained with his seed, bathed and became pregnant, whereupon in fear of her husband, she deposited the child at the foot of a fig tree (*pippala*), whence his name" (O'Flaherty 1973:62 [taken from *Śiva Purāṇa* 3.25.2, 3.24.5, 3.24.34–64]). Also, the *Purāṇa* (21.1–43) retells a variant of the *Śiva Purāṇa*'s story of Dharma's attempted seduction of Pipplād's wife, Padmā (ibid.: 63).
8. The temple site, which the *Purāṇa* characterizes as the place where Satī's skull fell, as we shall see later.
9. In support of this connection, Vaidya (1924) quotes verses from the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (edition unspecified). This source mentions a twelfth son named Alpvats, whom Vaidya identifies as Mamra (i.e., Mam).
10. This book is a product of the early twentieth century, but its exact date of publication is uncertain. The colophon indicates that the text was completed in VS 1971 (1914 CE). My thanks to John Cort for deciphering the colophon.
11. It turns out that there is a Muslim group in Rajasthan known as Nāgauriya Musalmān with some sort of link to Dadhimatī's region. They appear to be a Muslim *jāti* divided into exogamous *gotra*s. In April 1998, Rajendra Joshi, Varsha Joshi, and I interviewed members of a Nāgauriya Musalmān community located in the outskirts of Malpura. It emerged that one of their *gotra*s is known as Dāymā. However, our informants, one of whom was Dāymā himself, knew nothing of any connection with Dadhimatī.
12. The fact that Dadhimatī ordered them to marry among themselves may be a significant detail. Her divine sanction would circumvent the obvious issue of incest. On this point, however, the *Purāṇa* is silent. As noted later, Dādhīc informants do not regard the incest issue as significant, but professional genealogists might have taken a stricter view.
13. Elsewhere in the text she is said to be so named because she was produced from "churning" curds (1.23).
14. There are other variations of this tale.
15. Many Dādhīc Brahmans believe that the temple was built by the King of Udaipur. One interviewee expressed the belief that Māndhātā was himself the king of Udaipur. A professional Pandit told me that Māndhātā belonged to the *satyug*, whereas the temple was built in the *kaliyug* by the king of Udaipur.
16. This would be about sixty-four miles, which is about the right distance between Pushkar and Goth-Manglod.
17. The Hindi translator glosses this as *carbī* (fat). A learned Dādhīc Brahman Pandit whom I queried about this episode told me that it was, in his words, *aslī tattva*, the essential or original principle or substance of things. He added that, in its absence, there were many troubles in the world and people began to starve and die.
18. Here the text blends two of the three categories of deity outlined in chapter six of this volume: *kul* or *jāti* deities (deities of lineage and caste) and *ārādhya* deities (*iṣṭ*, or favored deities of personal devotion). As we shall see, this comes at the expense of her status as *sthānīya* deity (a deity of place).

19. As we have seen in chapters five and seven, there has been recent royal patronage at Dadhimatī, namely the king of Udaipur's funding of the temple's mid-nineteenth-century renovation and an early twentieth century donation from the king of Jodhpur. These have been downplayed by the Dādhīc Brahmans, and apparently never gave rise to any claim of proprietary rights on the part of the donors. Although there is a passage in the *Purāṇa* (22.51–2) that seems to say that the descendants of Māndhātā will continue a ritual relationship with the Dādhīc Brahmans, the matter is not pursued. The *Purāṇa* projects a vision in which royal patronage plays only a cameo role in the Dādhīc story, on stage long enough to effect the sacrificial transformation of sages into priests, but then dropping out of sight.
20. To put the matter in terms of the concepts developed in chapter six of this volume, the *Purāṇa* is attempting to foreground Dadhimatī's role as *jāti* (caste) deity at the expense of her role as *sthānīya* (place) deity.
21. As noted earlier, the ancient temple inscription refers to a community of Brahmans called "Dadhya" Brahmans. If these people are indeed ancestral to the present-day Dādhīc Brahmans, a claim that should not be accepted uncritically in my view, it would seem that the terminological link between goddess and this Brahman community is very old indeed.
22. The question of whether other castes bear or bore the "Dāhimā" appellation is a puzzling aspect of our tale. Dādhīc Brahmans repeatedly told us that the term "Dāhimā" (or "Dāymā") applies to all the castes of the region—i.e., that its signification is territorial. In a particularly revealing remark, one Dādhīc Brahman went even further, maintaining that the Brahmans are "Dādhīc," while the region's other castes are "Dāhimā." But in fact, the Jāṭs we spoke to (admittedly a small sample) denied that they are known as "Dāhimā," and some members of non-Brahman castes insisted that the term applies *only* to Brahmans. As noted, most Dādhīc Brahmans continue to refer to themselves as "Dāhimā" (or "Dāymā") to this very day, despite the elite preference for "Dādhīc." It is difficult to know exactly what to make of all this. It can at least be said that the term "Dādhīc" is probably recent, a product of the same mindset that generated the *Purāṇa*. An interesting wrinkle on this issue is the fact that "Dāymā" Muslims exist, as noted earlier.
23. There exists an alternative genealogy representing Dadhīci as the son of a different Brahman sage, Cyavana, and a Kṣatriya princess. This version an parently originates in the *Talavakāra Brāhmaṇa*. See Pathak 1966:32–4; also Asopa 1988:17. Pathak also reports an episode from the *Mahābhārata* in which Dadhīci, having been roused from his asceticism by a nymph sent by Indra, ejaculated into the river Sarasvatī who then gave birth to a child, Sārasvata (ibid.:38–9). The *Purāṇa*'s account of Pipplād's unusual conception seems thematically related.
24. Such manipulations of semen are probably common in Brahman origin mythology. As an example, in his *Jātibhāskar* (1996:177) Paṇḍit Jvālāprasād Miśra links the Dādhīc origin myth with that of the Sārasvat Brahmans. Before siring Pipplād, Dadhīci was interrupted in his *tapasya* by an *apsarā* and spilled his seed. Then Brahmā sent Sarasvatī to get the seed, lest it set the earth afire. By means of her yogic power, Sarasvatī placed the semen in her throat, ear, navel, and heart. The four sons that were then born became the apical ancestors of four branches of the Sārasvat Brahmans.
25. By far the most lucid explanation of the system is to be found in Brough 1953. What follows is based on his account.
26. A complete discussion of the evolution of this list is to be found in Mitchiner 1982.
27. Glimpses into the lineage structure of the region's trading castes can be found in Babb 2004.
28. The reason for the inexactness is that judgments had to be made about variant spellings. I have ignored *padvī* names. See Asopa 1988:41–42 on *padvī* names.

29. These two works (Miśra 1996 and Harikṛṣṇa Śāstrī 1996) belong to the early twentieth century. Vaidya does not attempt to attach *pravara* lists to the *gotras*. However, Mukhiyā Rūp Nārāyaṇ did supply such lists in a book called *Dadhīc Jāti Bhāskaraḥ* published in Jaipur in VS 1996. We were unable to obtain a copy of this book, but the *pravara* lists are reproduced in Asopa 1988:23–36. How these lists were derived is totally unclear. Vaidya's list of *gotra*s seems more or less identical to the one in Miśra 1996. He also includes the occupational or *padvī* names of some of these, which never had—as far as I know—any significance other than honorific.
30. We did not undertake a systematic inquiry into the Jāṭ side of this story. A Jāṭ politician from Jodhpur told us that the temple was actually built by Jāṭs, but that the *pujārī*s (a belittling reference to the Dādhīc Brahmans) must have taken it over. This was a common sequence of events, he added.
31. One informant told us that the Trust was registered in 1978. Later, a serious dispute broke out between the leadership of the Mahāsabhā and the Trust, but is not relevant to this chapter.

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Dates from Indian calendars are roughly translated as follows: the difference between the Gregorian (CE) and the Rajasthani and Marwari versions of the Vikram Saṃvat (VS) calendars has been calculated as 57 years, the difference between the Gregorian and the Gujarati version of the Vikram Saṃvat calendars has been calculated as 56 years (Johnson 1938), and the difference between the Gregorian and the Vīr Nirvāṇ Saṃvat calendars has been calculated as 526 years.

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Index

adored deities, 95, 103-8
Agarwal, Anil, and Sunita Narain, 80, 82
Agravāl, S., 9
Agrawala, R.C., 26
Appadurai, Arjun, 72
Asher, Catherine B. and Cynthia Talbot, 126
Āsopā, Indu, 181
Asopa, Jai Narayan, 85

Babb, L.A. et al., 6
Babb, Lawrence A., 24, 32, 35, 38, 72, 104, 149, 150, 157, 161, 174
"Bedhṛak", Subhāṣ, 124
Bhandarkar, D.R., 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 37, 67, 75, 79, 87, 88
Bharucha, Rustom, 99
Bhattacharya, Gouriswar, 26
Bourdieu, Pierre, 43
Brahmanical Kinship, 180-85

congregation (*saṅgh*), 127
  in Jainism, 127-28
contemporary commodity society in India, 76
Coomaraswamy, Ananda K., 81
Cort, John E, 2, 13, 23, 29-30, 31, 32, 42, 44, 103, 124, 141

Dādhīc Brahmans, 44, 170
  in *Purāṇa*, 170-72
  origin of, 44-45, 172-73
Dadhimatī Mātā, 84, 85, 176-77
Dadhimatī temple (Nagaur district), 1, 2-3, 5, 42, 84, 118, 170
  disputes in, 185-87
  in the context of social changes during the 19th and 20th centuries, 170
  local dominant caste in, 119
  metrical time and, 56-57
  origin of, 8
  priests at, 120

Dadhimatī temple (*Contd.*)
social time and, 44-48
traditional patrons in, 121
transformation/rebuilding of, 65-66
Davis, Richard H., 10
deities
categories of, 94-95 : *kul devatā*, 95-97; *sthāniyā devatā*, 97-102; *arādhya devatā*, 103-8
Devguptsūri, Ācārya, 155, 158, 159
Dhaky, M.A., 9, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 57, 70, 79, 85
Dowson, John, 183,
Dundas, Paul, 135, 138, 143, 148, 152, 158

Eliade, Mircea, 42
Evans-Pritchard, E. E., 12, 43

family lineage deities, 94, 95-97
Fuller, C. J., 126
functioning temple(s), 1, 4
social factors for, 94

Gaston, Anne-Marie, 125
Gayvarcand, Muni, 140
Giri, Kamal and Maruti Nandan Prasad Tiwari, 65, 85
Guṇsundar, Muni, 136, 138, 142, 143, 145, 157
Gupta, Rāmkaraṇ, 122
Gupta, S. L., 73, 74

Hall, Kenneth R. and George W. Spencer, 4
Handa, Devendra, 9, 26, 30, 31, 34, 67, 79, 80, 95
Harlan, Lindsey, 37, 47, 180
Hegewald, Julia, 81
Herdeg, Klaus, 81
Hinduism, 72, 127
Hoernle, A. F. Rudolf, 23, 25, 27, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 157
Humphrey, Caroline, 122

image worship
among Jains, ancient history of, 146-47
an Upkeś Gacch liturgy for, 158
Inden, Ronald, 10, 72
Iser, Wolfgang, 9

Jain community, 30
conversion of, 34-35
origination of, 32
Jain social and ritual culture, 146
constructing a, 146-47
Jaini, Padmanabh, 158
Jainism, 6
saṅgh in, 127-28
Jindel, Rajendra, 126
Jñānsundar, Muni, 49, 55, 120, 135-69
Jośī, Jagatnārāyaṇ, 57, 121

Kalia, Asha, 79
Khartar Gacch
spurious history of, 148-54
Kulke, Hermann, 125-26

Laidlaw, James, 157
Lobo, Wibke, 81

Mahapatra, Manamohan, 126, 127
Mahāvīra temple (Osian), 1, 3, 5, 6, 24, 29-30, 36, 42, 79, 135
history of, 24-25, in *Paṭṭāvali of the Upakeśa Gaccha*, 30-32
Jain community's perception of, 30-32
origin of, 6-7
pilgrimage to, 106
rebuilding/transformation of, 69-70, 70-71, 79
Mallison, Françoise, 9
Mankodi, Kirit, 81

Marriott, McKim, 53
Maxwell, Thomas S., 87
Meister, Michael W., 6, 9, 10, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 42, 64, 65, 71, 72, 75, 79, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88
Meister, Michael W. and M.A. Dhaky, 9, 81, 88
Mirashi, V.V., 88
Miśra, Paṇḍit Jvālāprasād, 174
Mitchiner, John E., 48
Mṛgendramuni, Muni, 116
Mughal, M.R., 75, 79

Nahar, Puran Chand, 23, 25

O'Flaherty, Wendy Doniger, 32
Osian town (Rajasthan), 6, 23, 48, 79
  archaeological movements at, 24-25
  ethnography of, 27-29
  temples at, 24, 67, 79
  water in, importance of, 80-82
Osvāl caste, 6
  origin of, 49-52

pilgrimage, 93
  reasons for, 93, 110
pilgrimage shrine, 93
pilgrim-deity relationship, 93
place deities, 95, 97-102
Pramar, V.S., 124
proprietary rights
  in temples, 124-27
public trust, 74
  functioning of, 74-75

Raheja, Gloria, 96
Ram Karna, Pandit, 65, 84, 87, 175, 181
Ramanujan, A.K., 32
Rāmdatt, Dr., 124
Raṇchoḍjī temple (Khed, Balotra), 1, 3
  local dominant caste in, 119-20
  origin of, 8-9
  rebuilding/transformation of, 64-65
Rāṅkā, Jhaverīlāl, 145
Rāṭhoḍ, Kṣemsiṃh M., 7
Reu, Pt. Bisheshwar Nath, 34
ritual culture, 24
  at Osian, 27
royal patronage
  in western Indian temples, 120-21

Sacciyā Mātā
  challenge of, 33-34
  conversion of, 32-33
Sacciyā Mātā temple (Osian), 1, 3, 5, 6, 26-27, 42, 79, 116
  history of, 25
  origin of, 6-7
  pilgrimage to, 103-6
  priests at, 117-18, 119
  transformation/rebuilding of, 67-69, 79
Śāh, Ambālāl Premcand, 25, 37
Śāh, Keśavlāl Ḍ., 143-44
Sālecā, Campālāl, 124
Śarmā, Govind Nārāyaṇ, 66, 88, 121, 123
Schubring, Walter, 30
Shah, Kesaricand Nemchand, 63, 73, 75
Singh, Muńśī Hardayāl, 173
Śiv Prasād, 155
Somani, Ram Vallabh, 65
Spencer, George, 4
Stein, Burton, 4, 72

temple priests, 117-19
temple trusts, 72
temple(s), 1, 2, 3, 42, 63-64, 86, 93
  as fluid entities, 115-17
  as institutions, 72
  as private property, 124-25

temple(s) (*Contd.*)
as state property, 125-27
building a, 63
in Rajasthan, 6-9, 42
new India's approach to, 73
proprietary rights in, 124-27
role of charismatic renounces in the history of, 123-24
role played by, 4
types of, public/private, 73-74
Thapar, Romila, 37
thermodynamic system, 3
Tod, James, 125, 174
Tulsī, Ācārya, 104

Upkeś Gacch (Jain mendicant lineage), 136
proper code of ritual conduct of the, 157-58
true history of the Osvāls and, 154-57

Vaiṣṇav, Bhaṅvarlāl, 65
Vaidya, Durgāprasād, 116, 121
Vaidya, Paṇḍit Śrīnārāyaṇ, 184
Van Gennep, Arnold, 46
Vārṣṇey, Makkhanlāl, 116, 120
Vaśiṣṭh, Nīlimā, 24
Verdia, H.S., 126
Verghese, Anila, 126
Viennot, Odette, 79
Vinaysāgar, Mahopādhyāy, 64

Waghorne, Joanne Punzo and Norman Cutler, 87
White, Leslie A., 3

Yokochi, Yuko, 88
Younger, Paul, 118, 125

PLATES

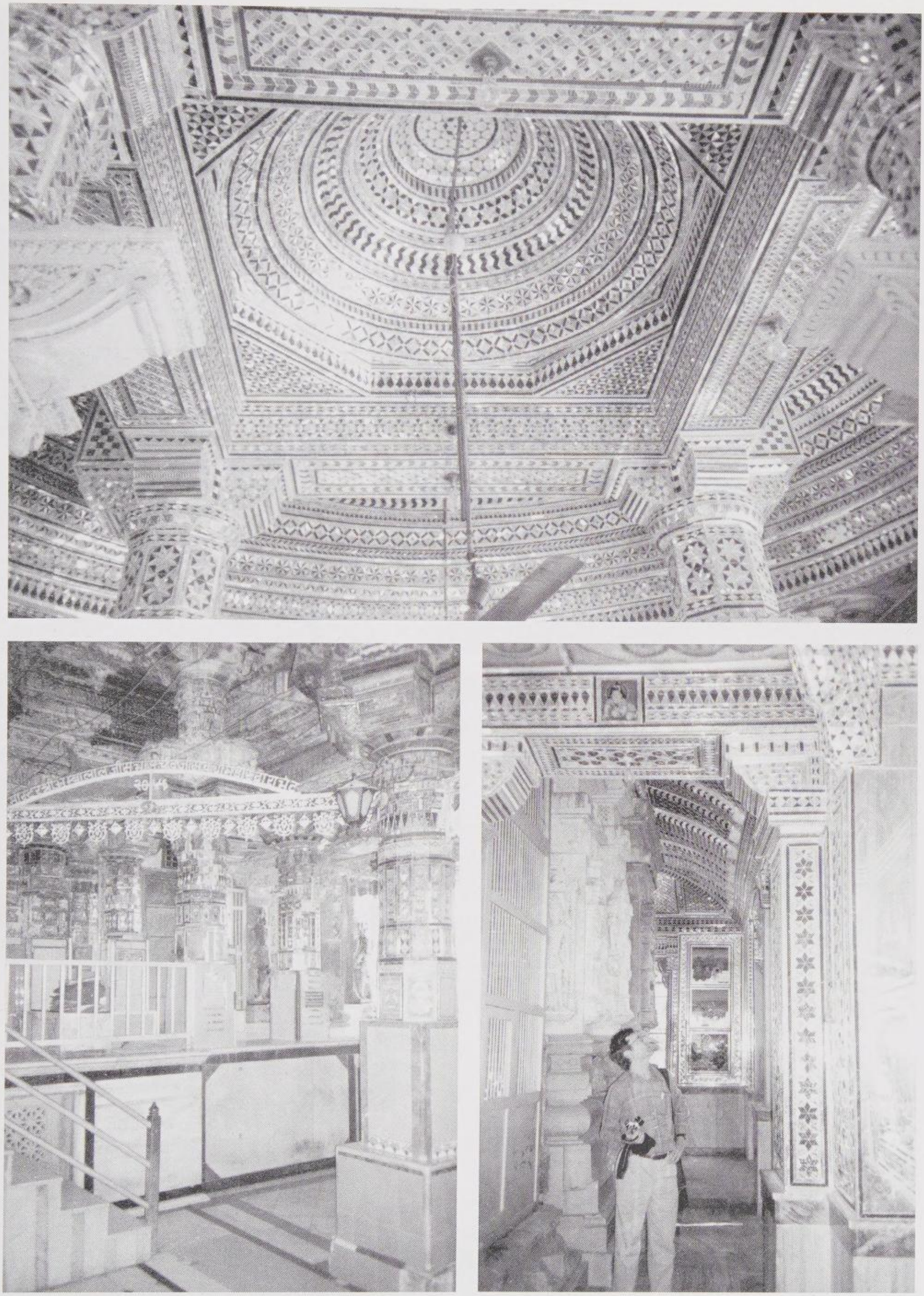
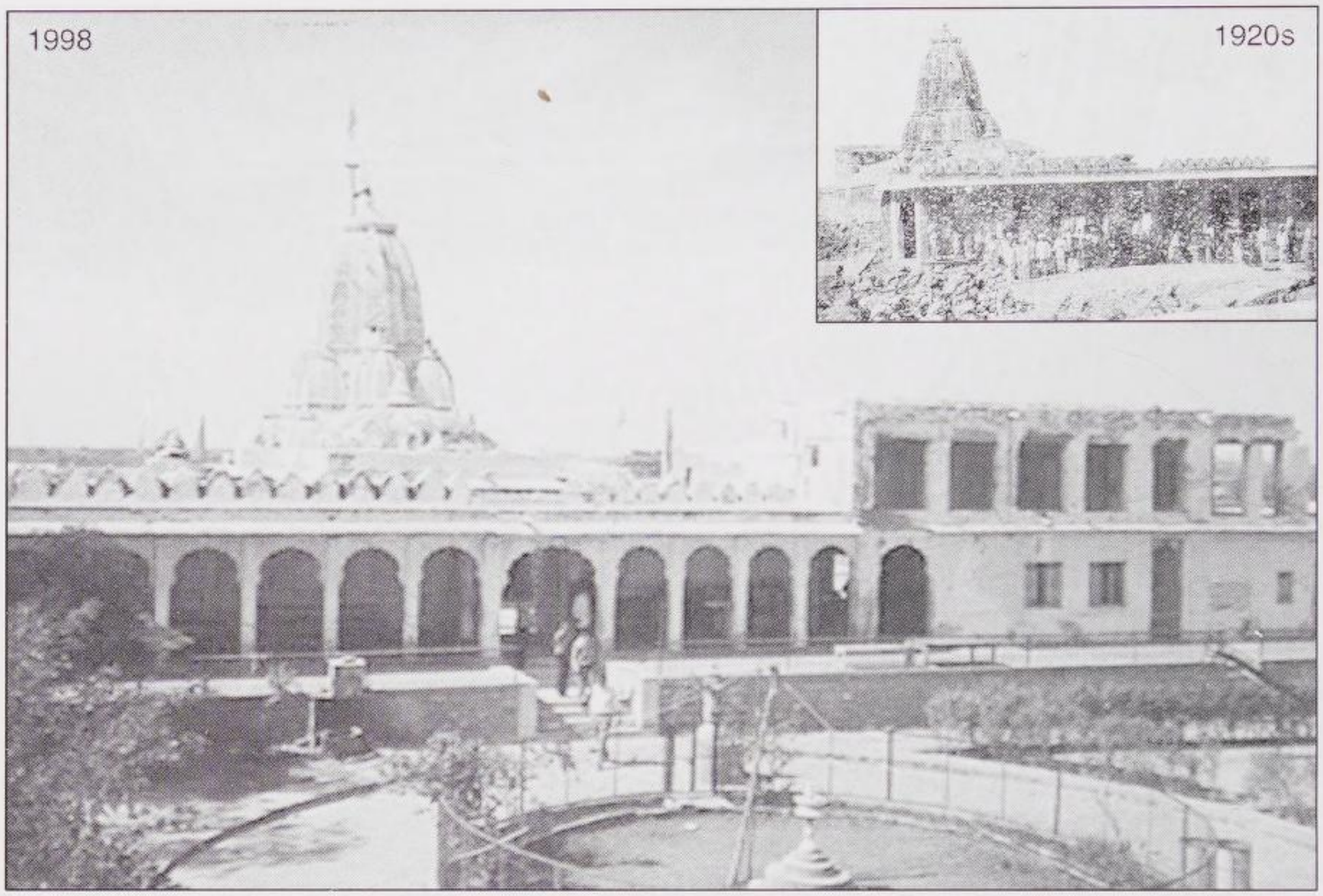


Plate 1. Khed, Raṇchoḍjī temple: mirrored ceiling in *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* (top); view into north ambulatory corridor (bottom right); Osian, Sacciyā Mātā temple, view of *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* looking toward the eighth-century Sūrya shrine (bottom left).



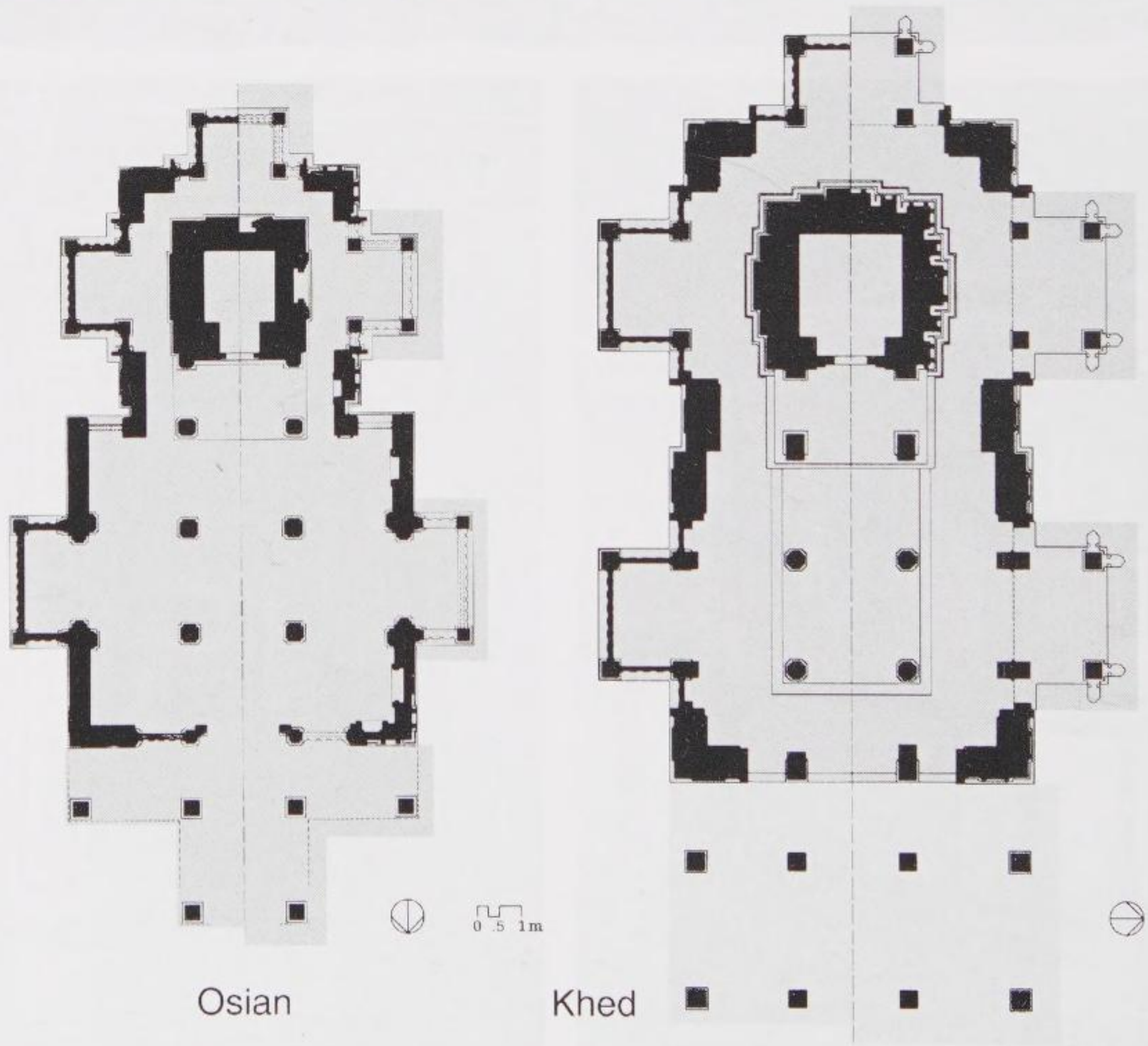


Plate 2. Raṇchoḍjī temple: forecourt in the 1920s and 1998 (top); Osian, Mahāvīra, and Khed temples: ground plans with enclosed ambulatory paths and balconies (bottom).

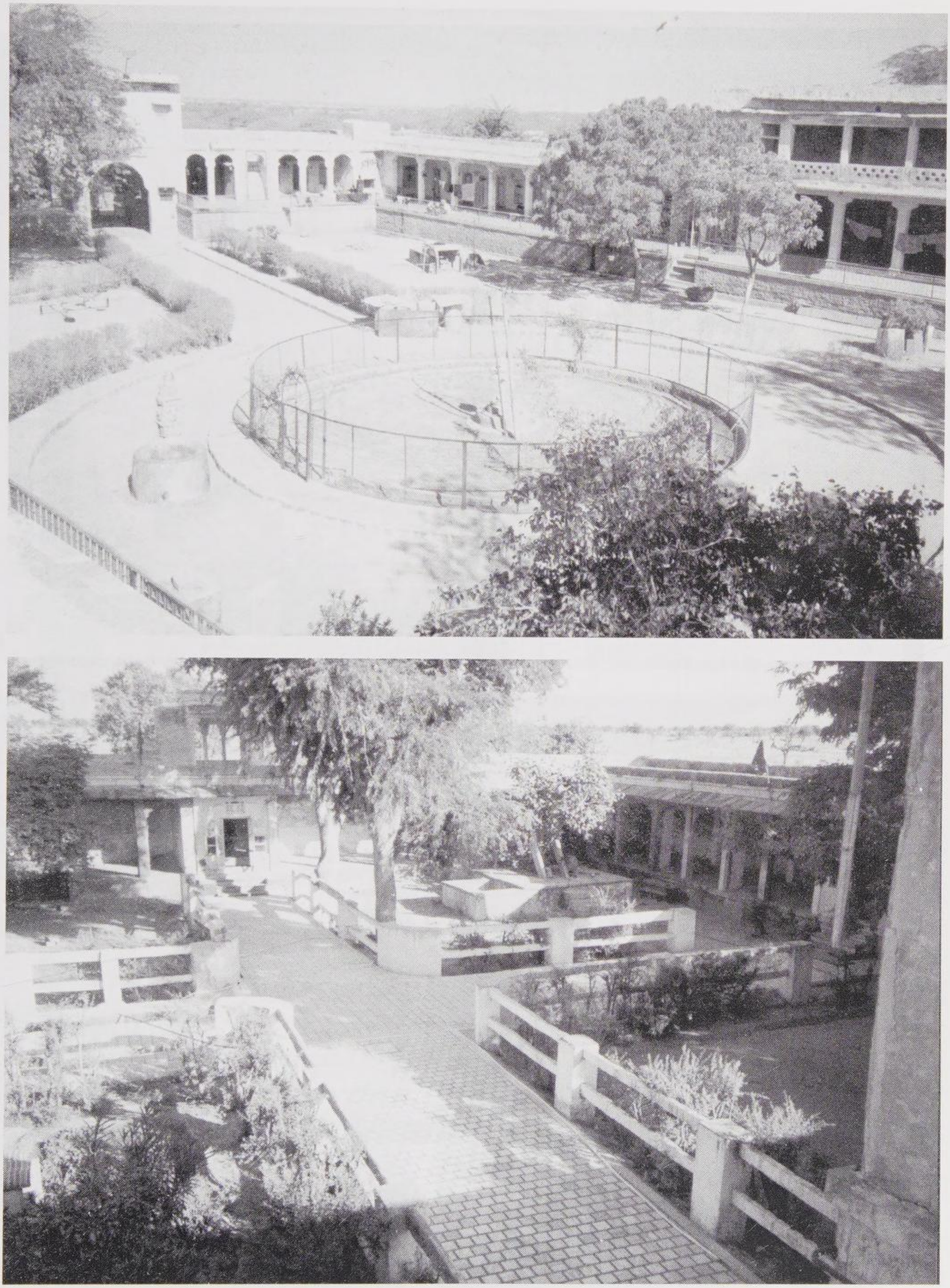


Plate 3. Raṇchoḍjī (top) and Dadhimatī Mātā (bottom): temple compounds extended in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

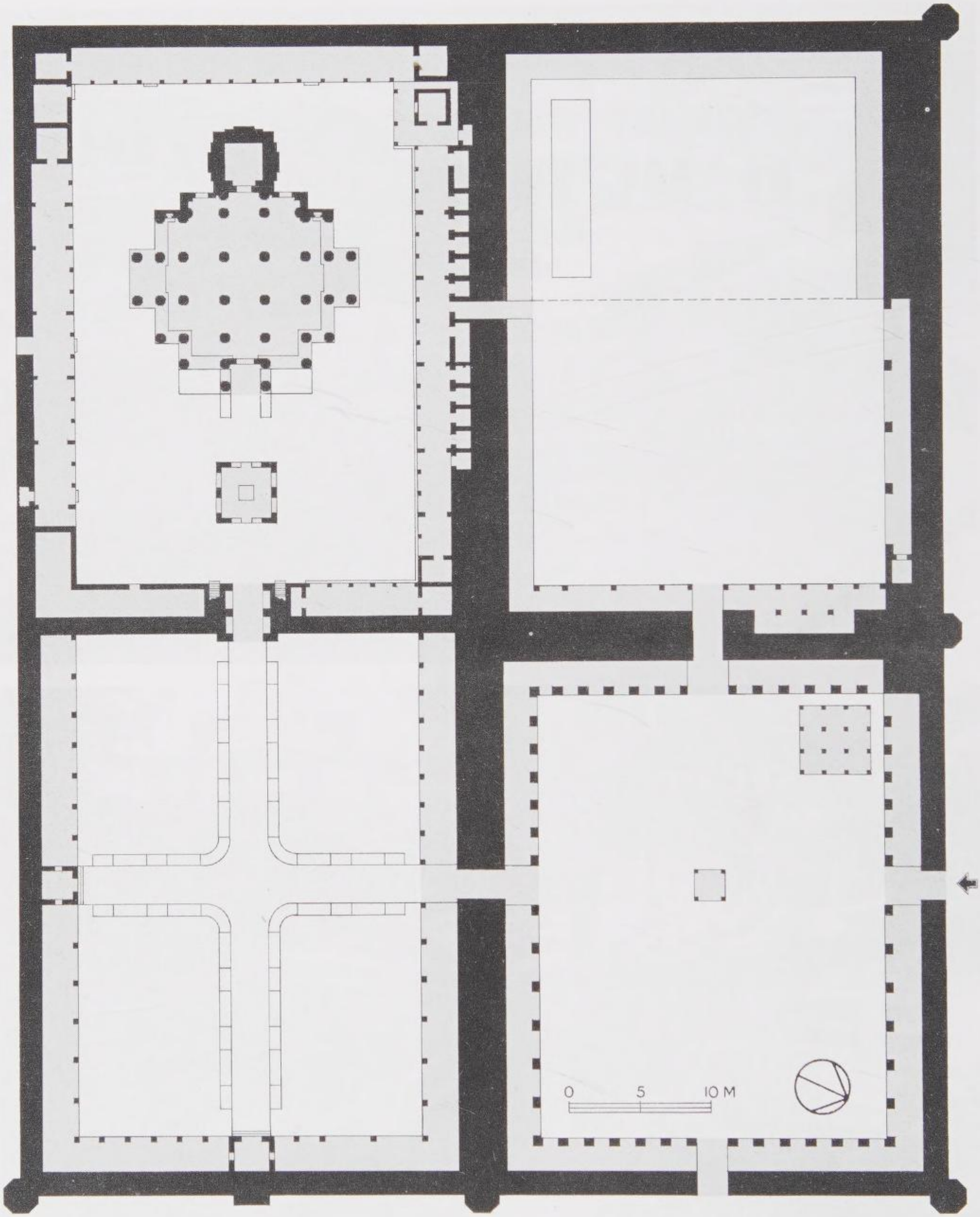
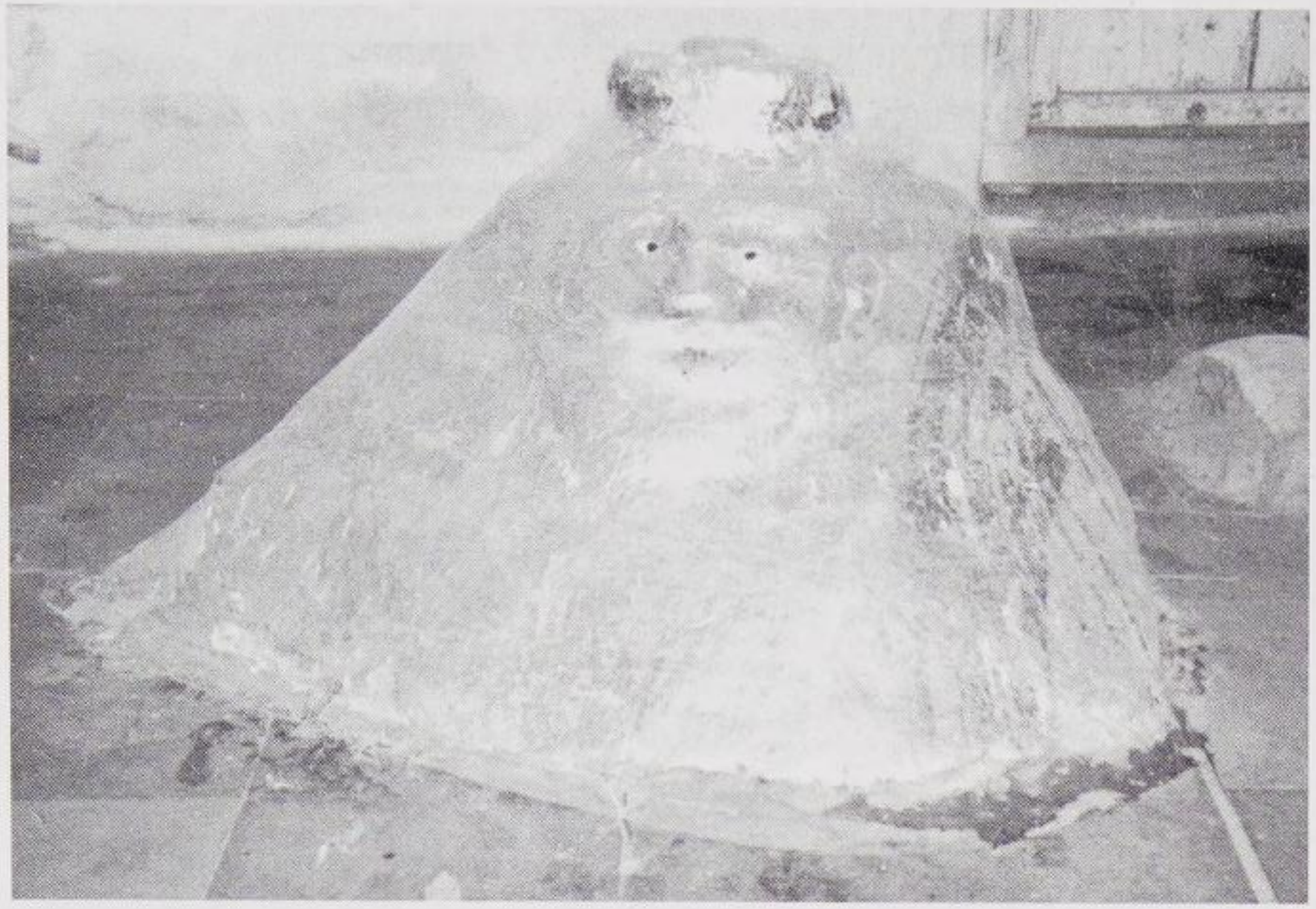


Plate 4. Dadhimatī Mātā temple: ground plan, ninth-century shrine, and the four nineteenth century *cauk*s.



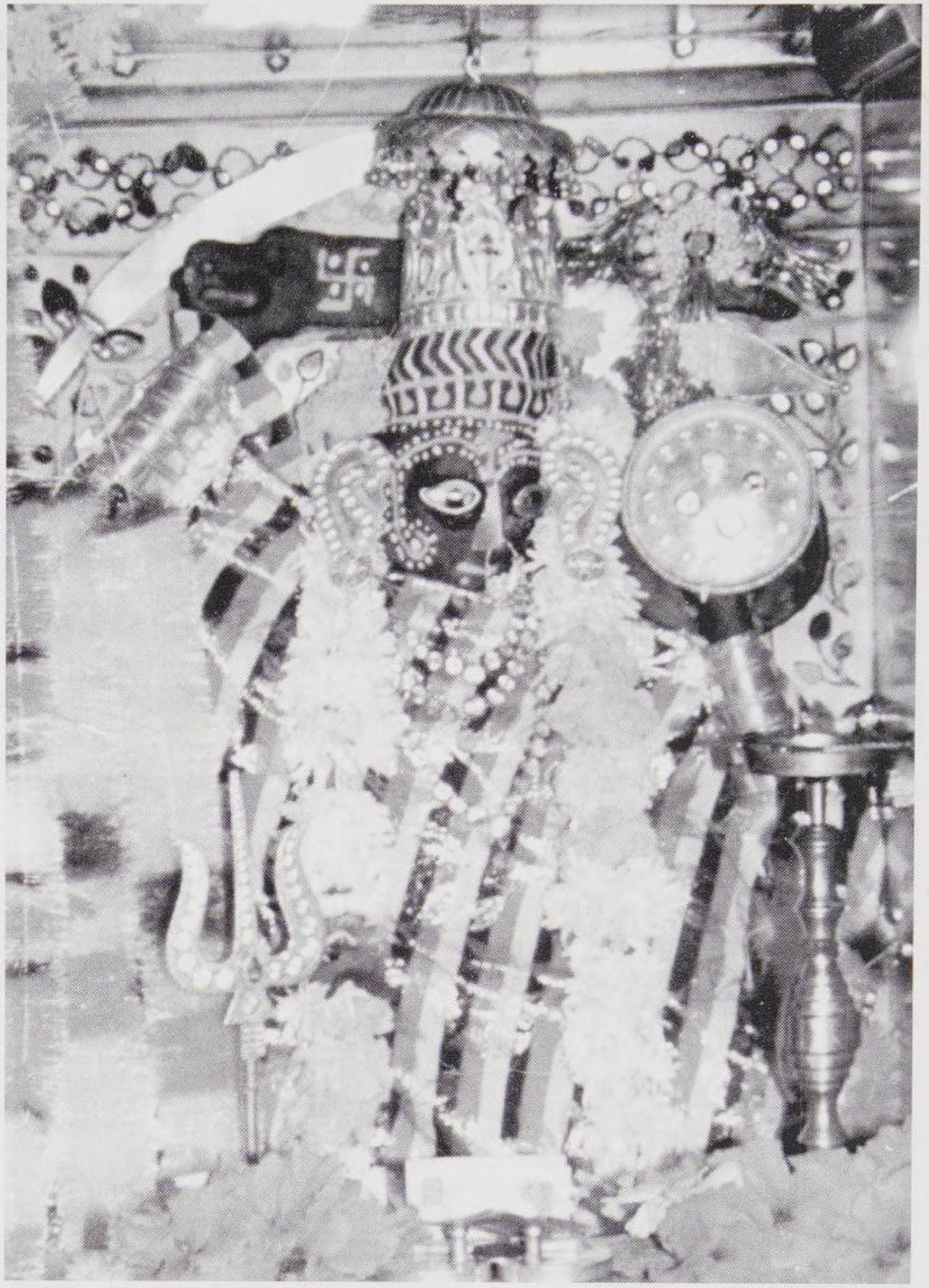


Plate 5. Autochthonous goddesses in Rajasthan: Udaipur, roadside *sthāna* (top left); Goth-Manglod, Dadhimatī Mātā (bottom left); Osian, Sacciyā Mātā (right).

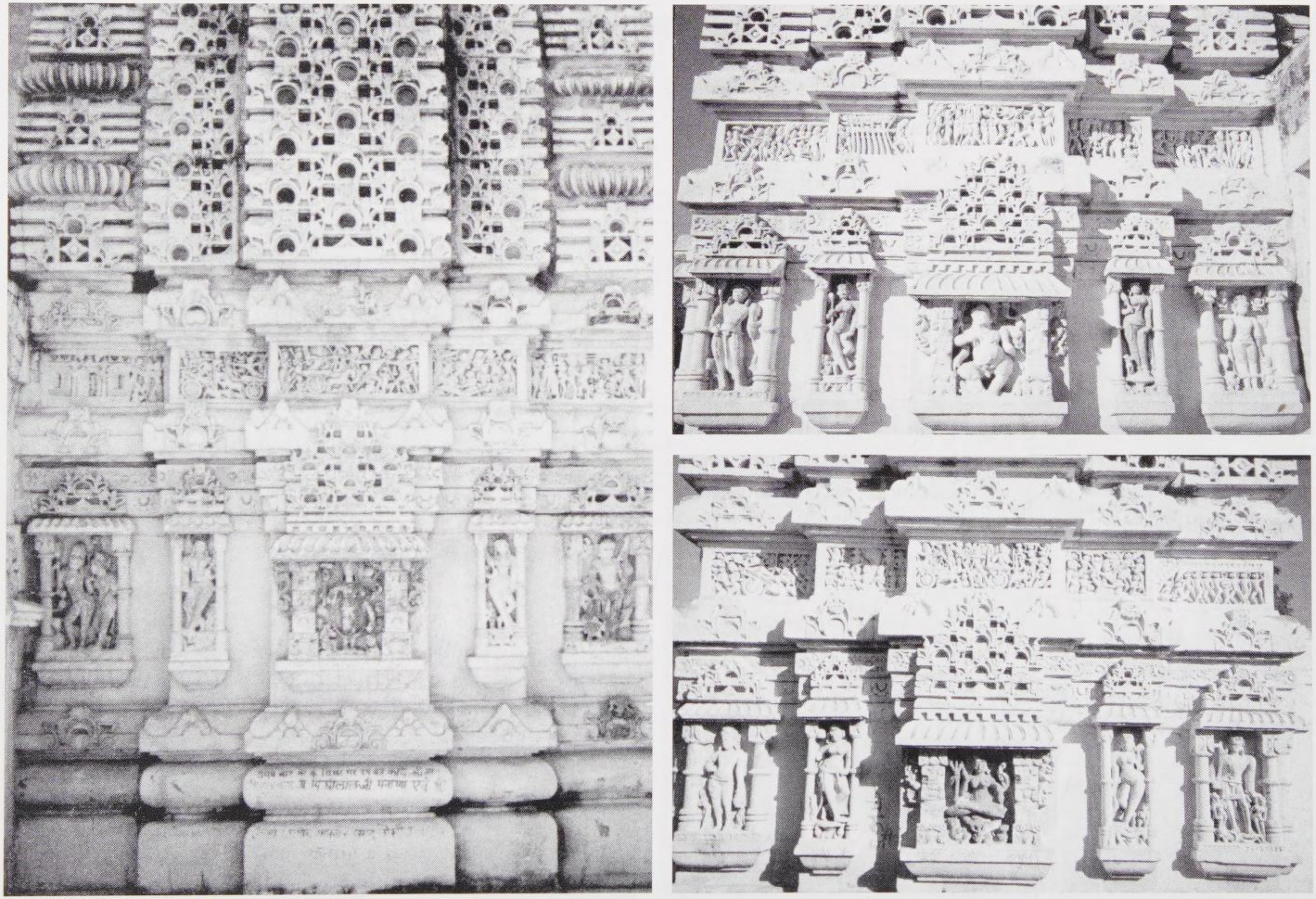
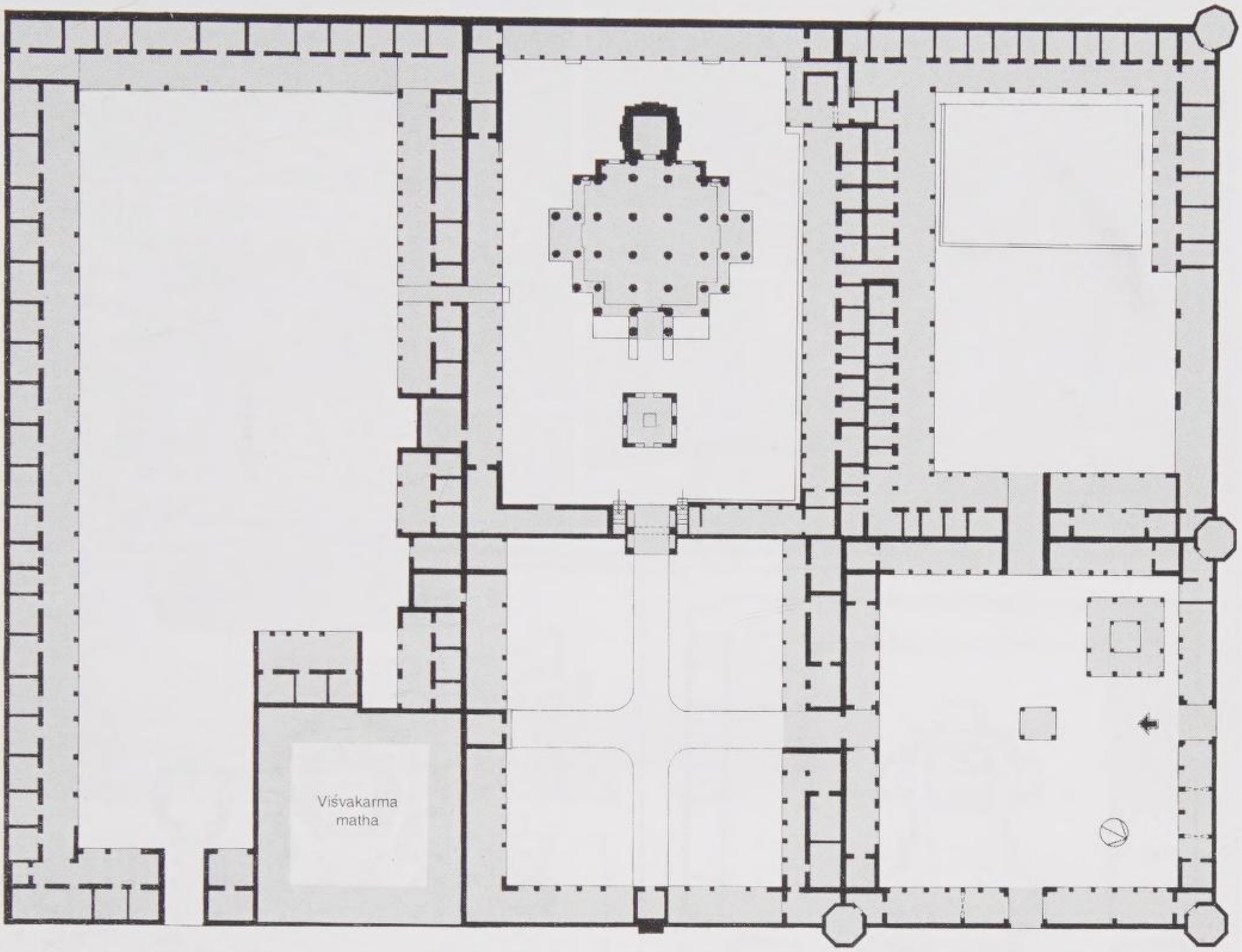


Plate 6. Goth-Manglod, Dadhimatī Mātā temple, south (upper right), west (lower right) and north (left) walls of the ninth-century *prāsāda*; central wall images are of Gaṇeśa, Kṣemaṅkarī, and Pārvatī performing penance.



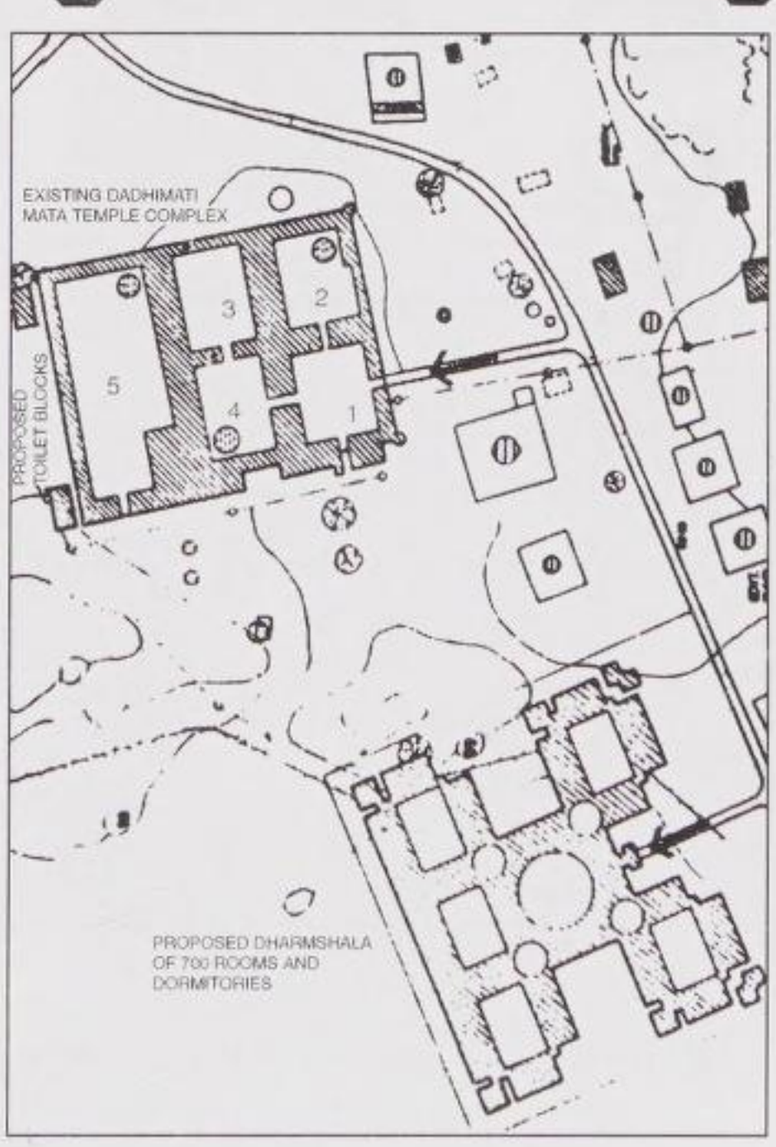
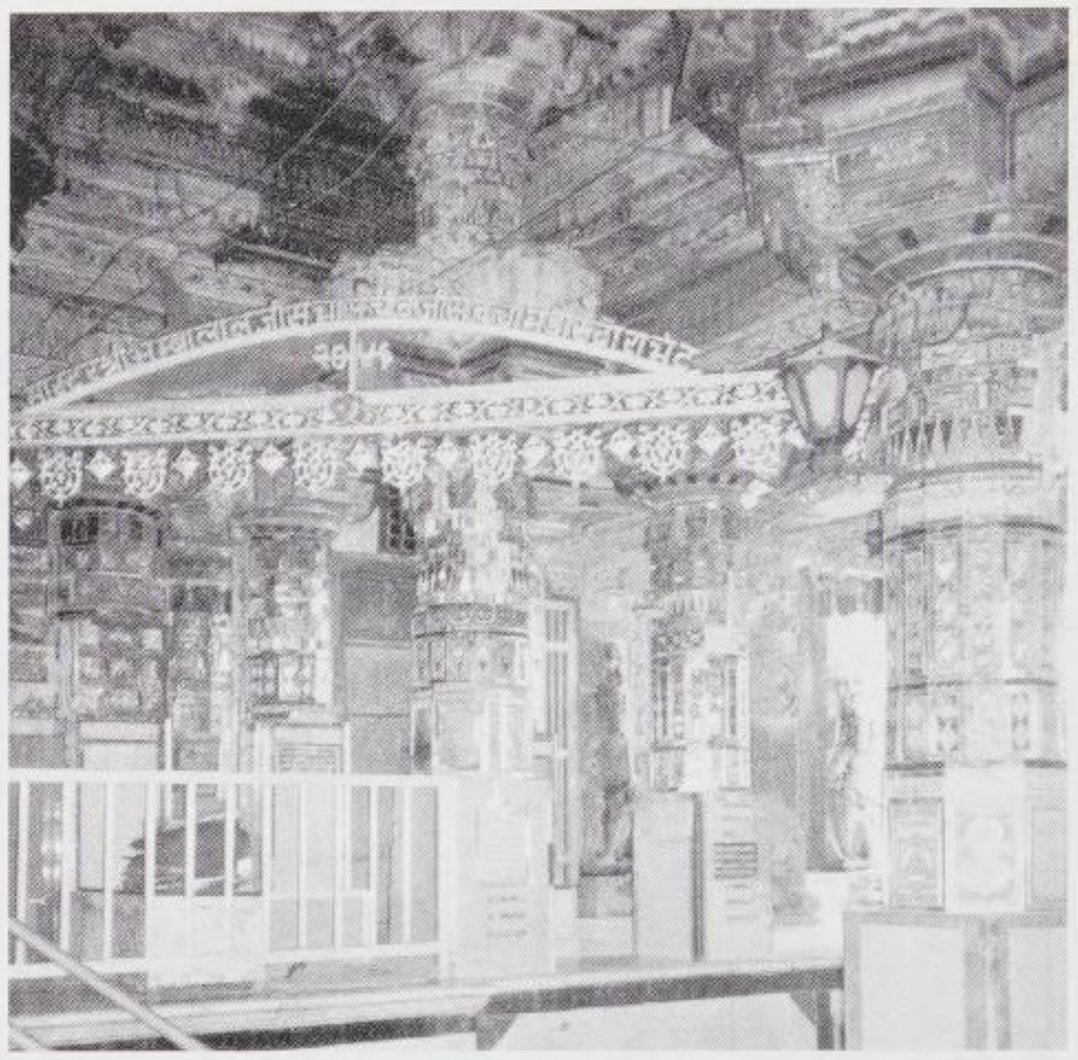
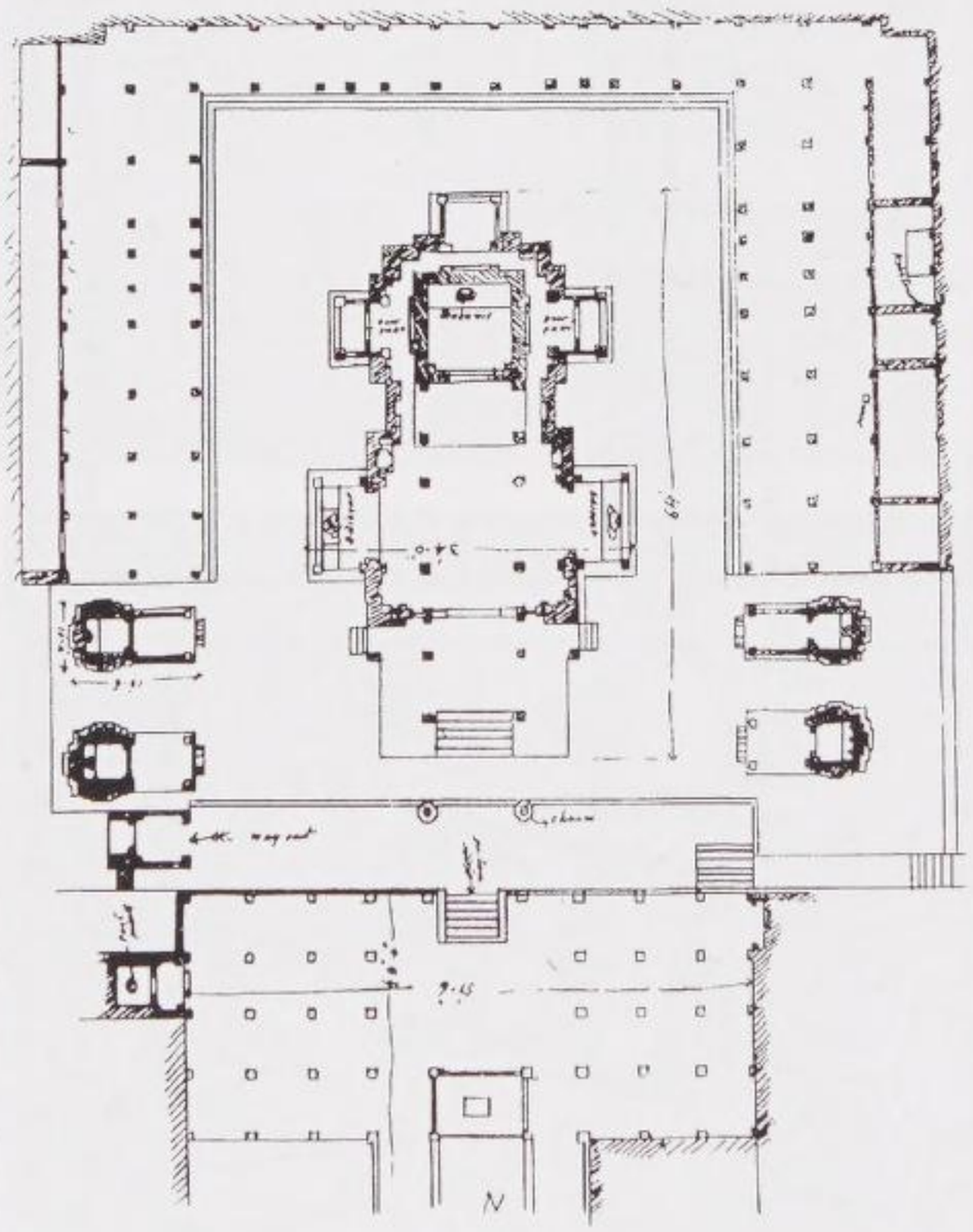
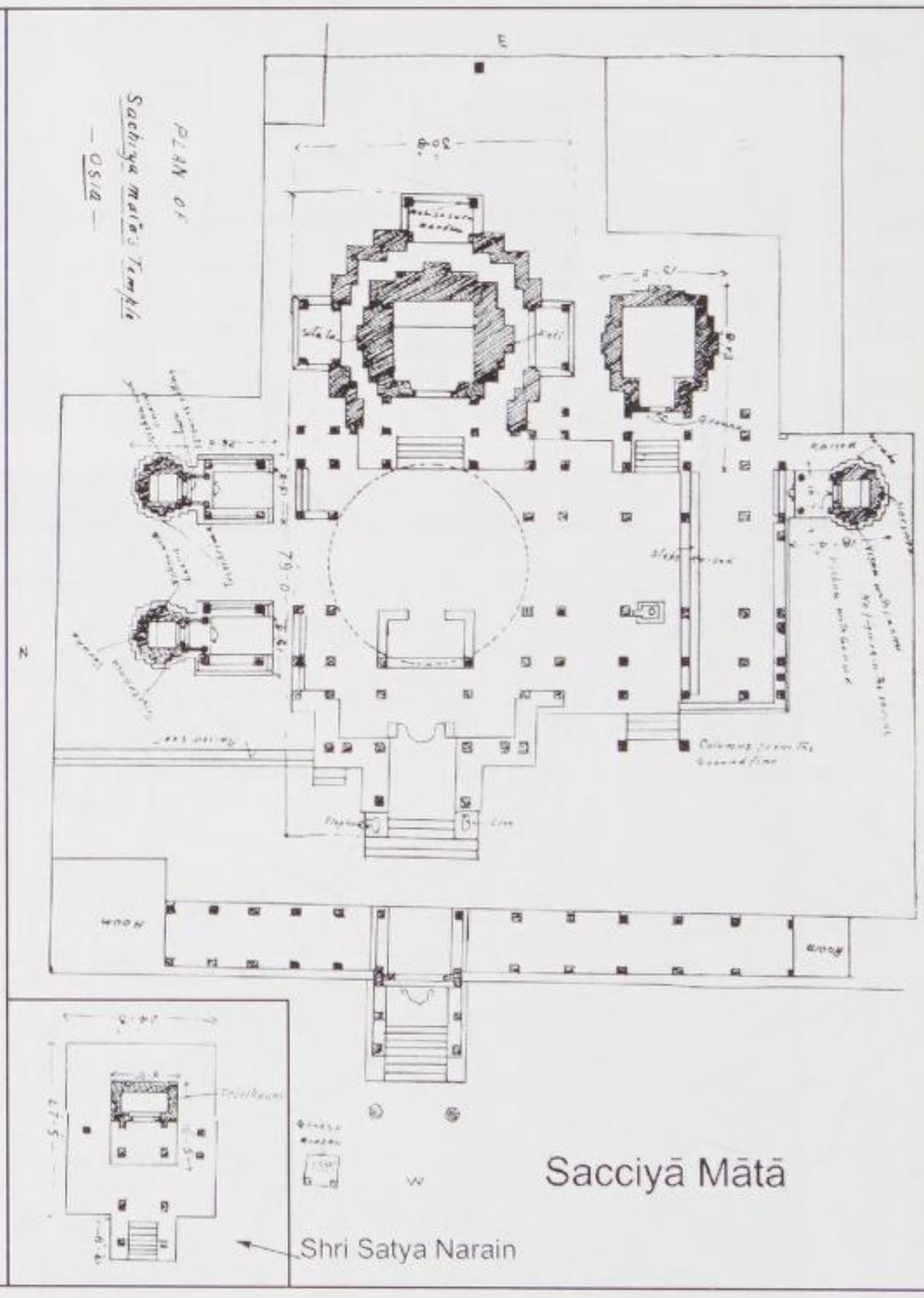


Plate 7. Dadhimatī Mātā temple: expansions in the twentieth century (top); site plan (bottom left), and location of the proposed new "Dharmshala of 700 rooms and dormitories" (bottom right).





Mahāvīra



Bhandarkar's sketch plans, 1907

Sacciyā Mātā

Plate 8. Sacciyā Mātā temple: ornamented interior of the twelfth-century *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* shared by the Sacciyā Mātā temple and four sub-shrines (top); Bhandarkar's 1906–7 rough sketches of the Mahāvīra, Sacciyā Mātā, and Śri Satyanārāyaṇa ground plans (bottom).

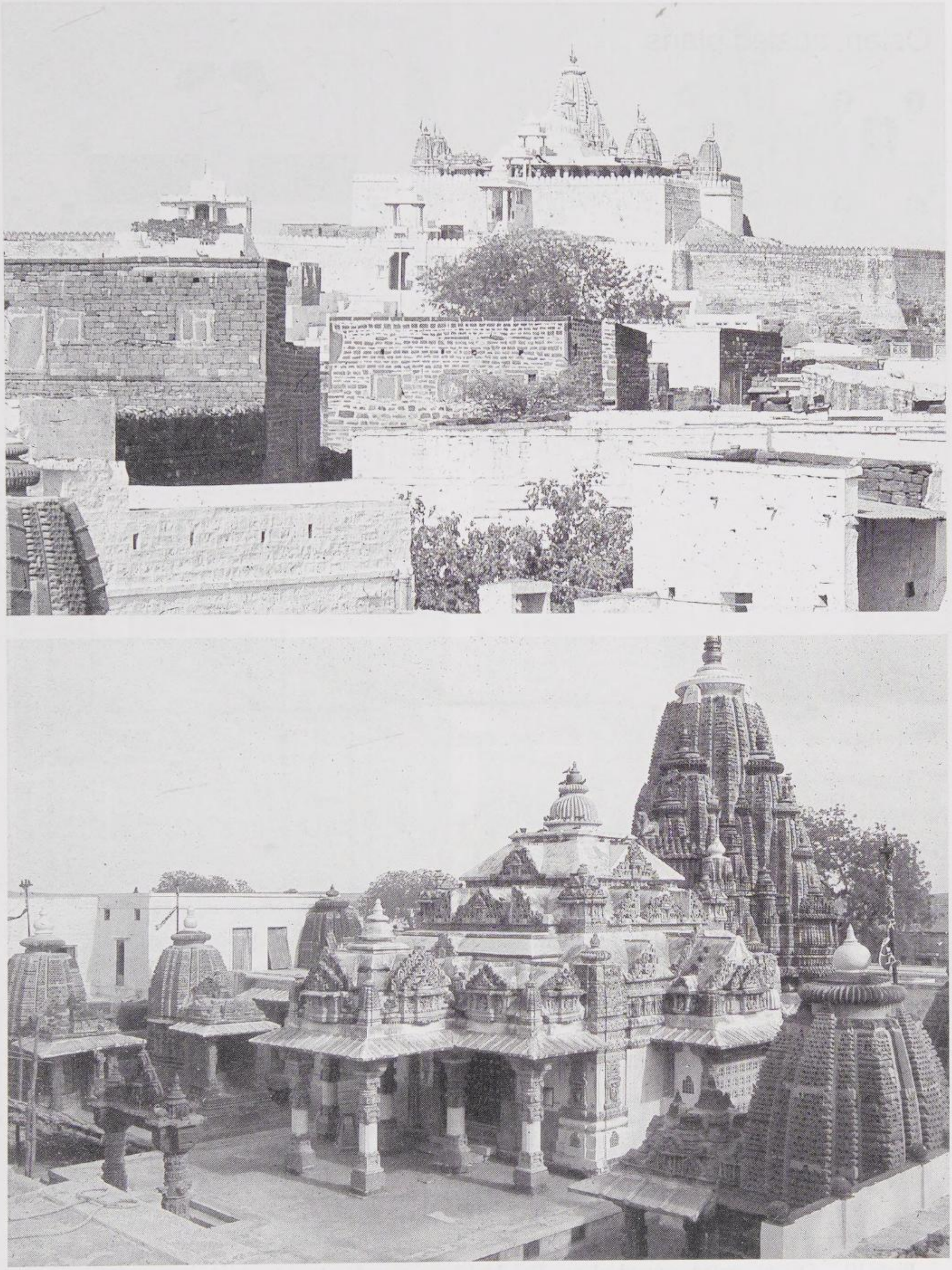
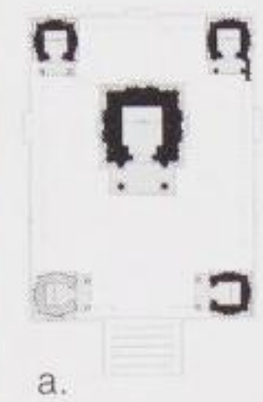


Plate 9. Sacciyā Mātā and Mahāvīra temples, 1972.

Osian, scaled plans



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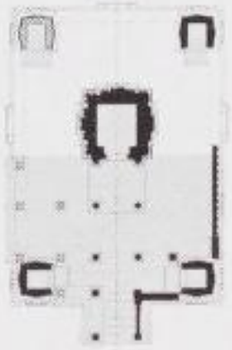

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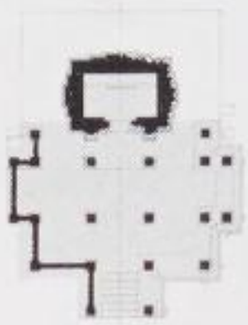

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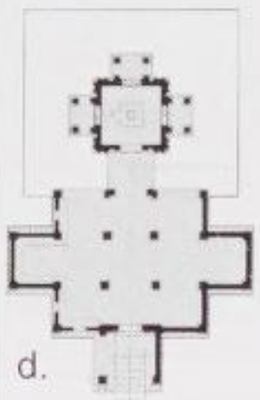

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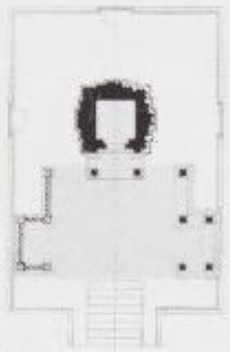

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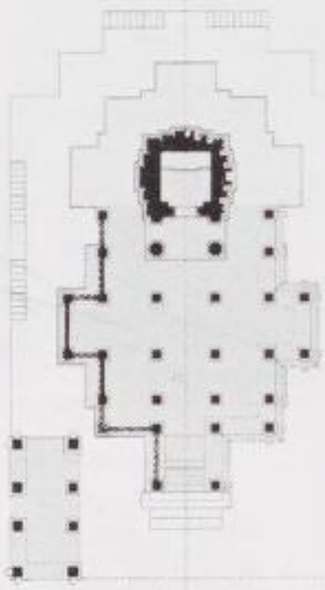

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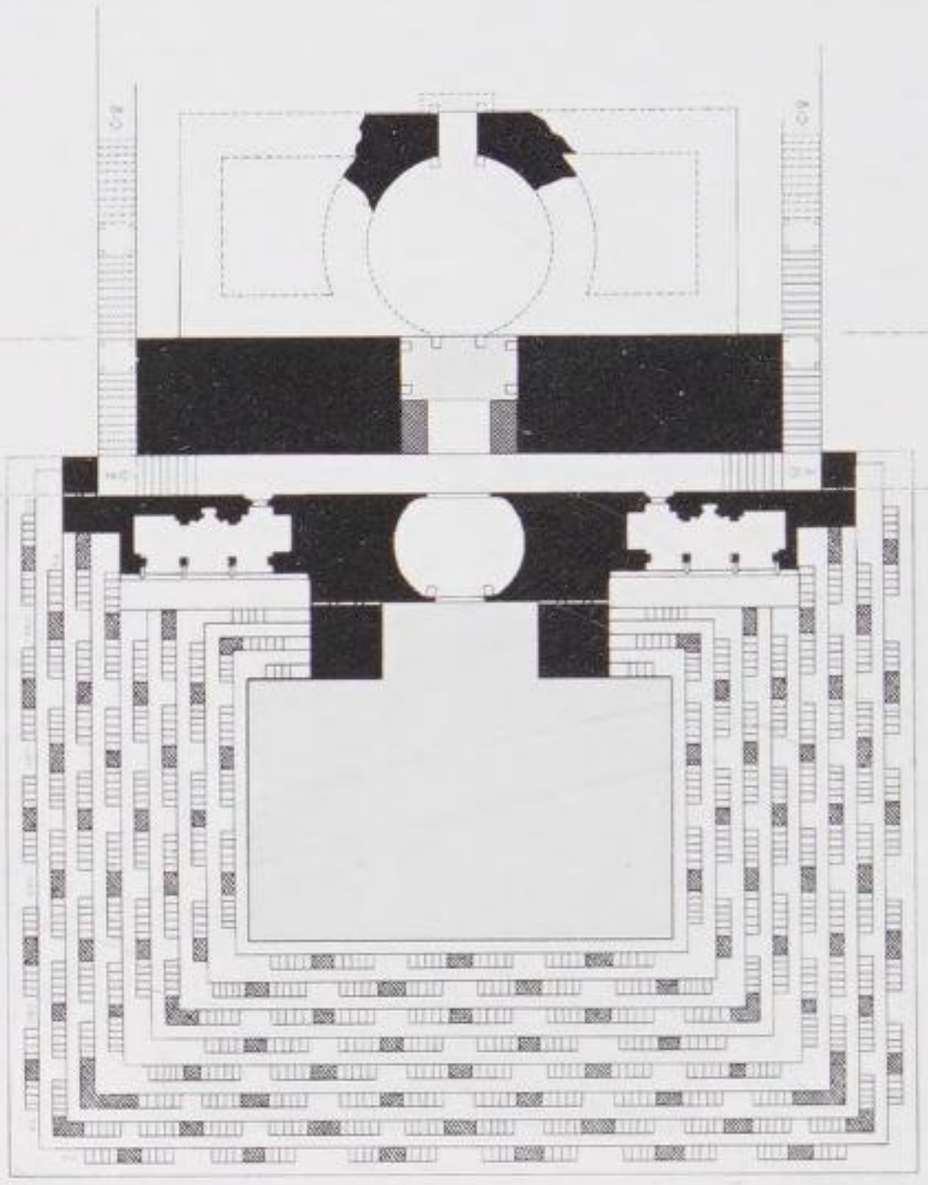

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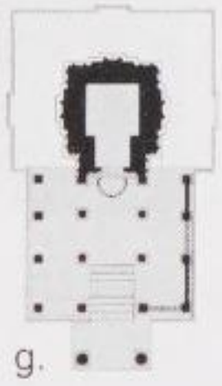

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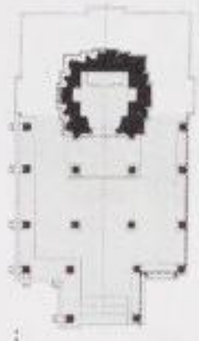
h.



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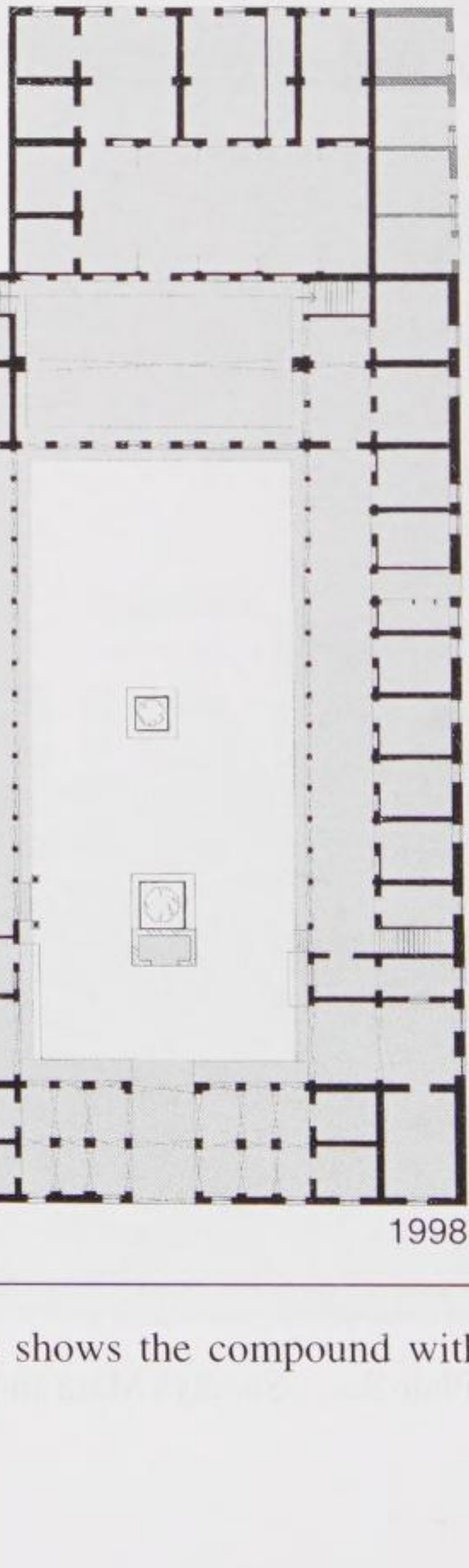


a-c. Harihara temples 1-3

d. Shiva temple

e. Surya-Vishnu temple

f. Pipla-devi temple

g. Surya temple no. 2

h. Vishnu temple no. 1

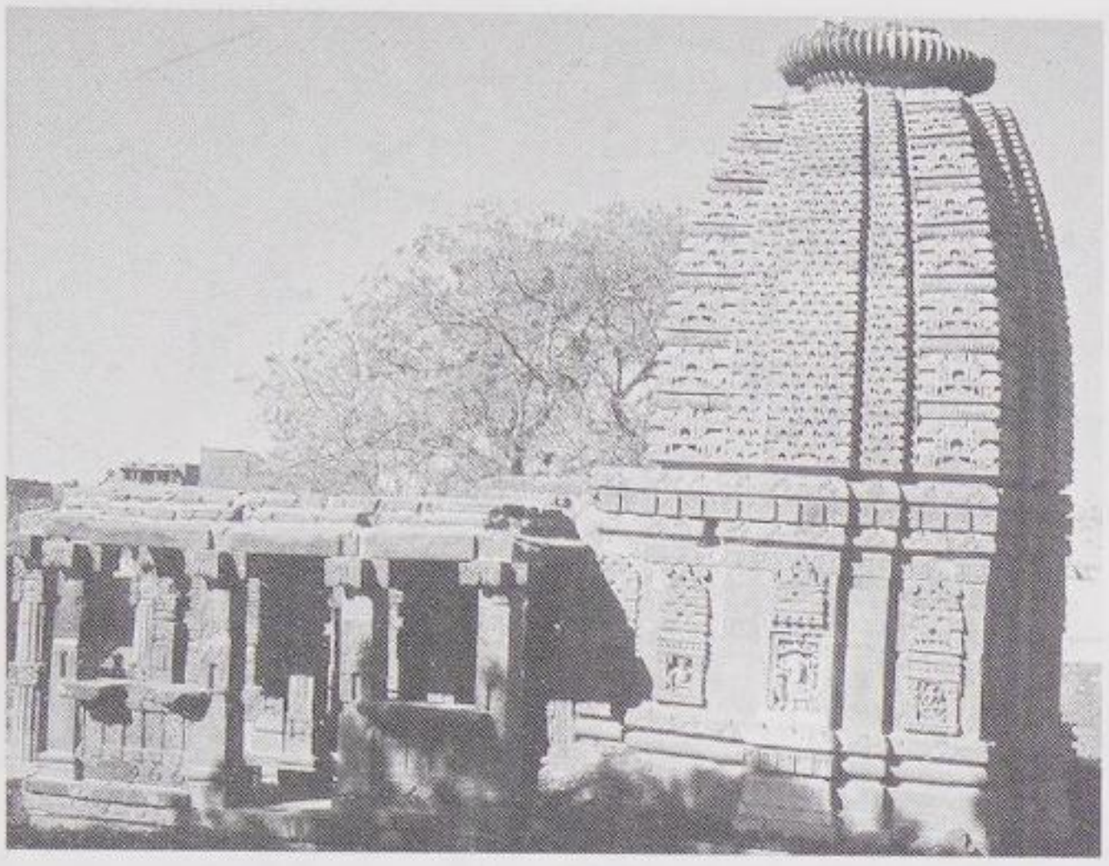
i. Vishnu temple no. 2

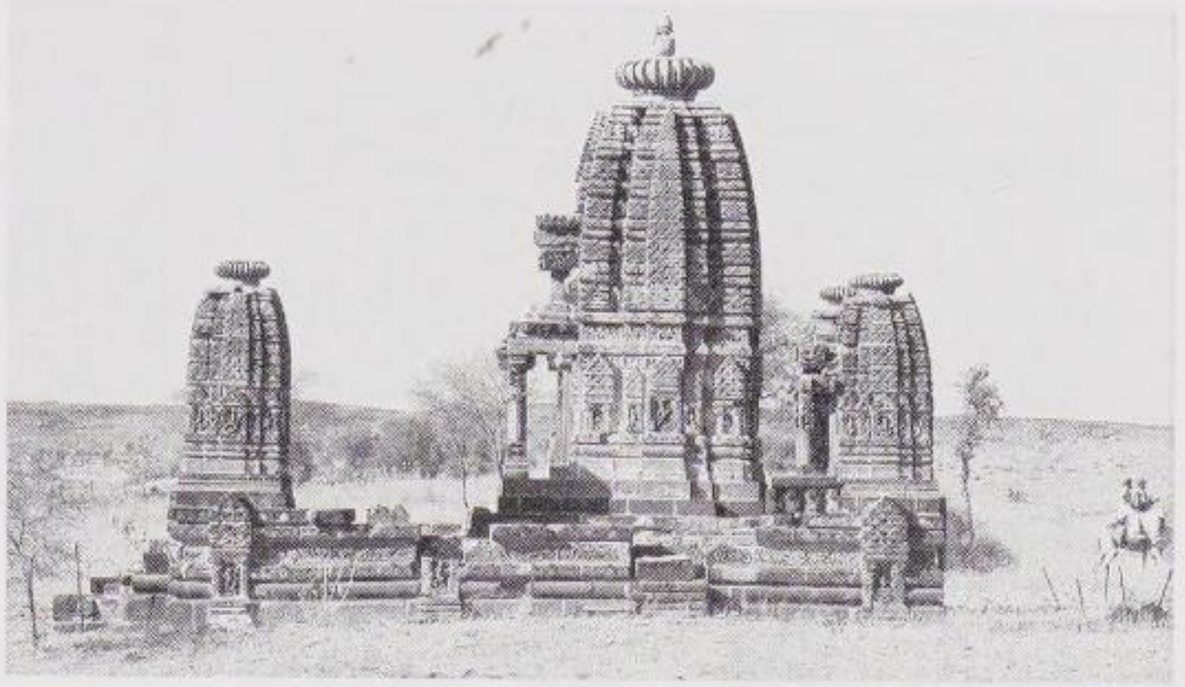
j. stepwell and tank

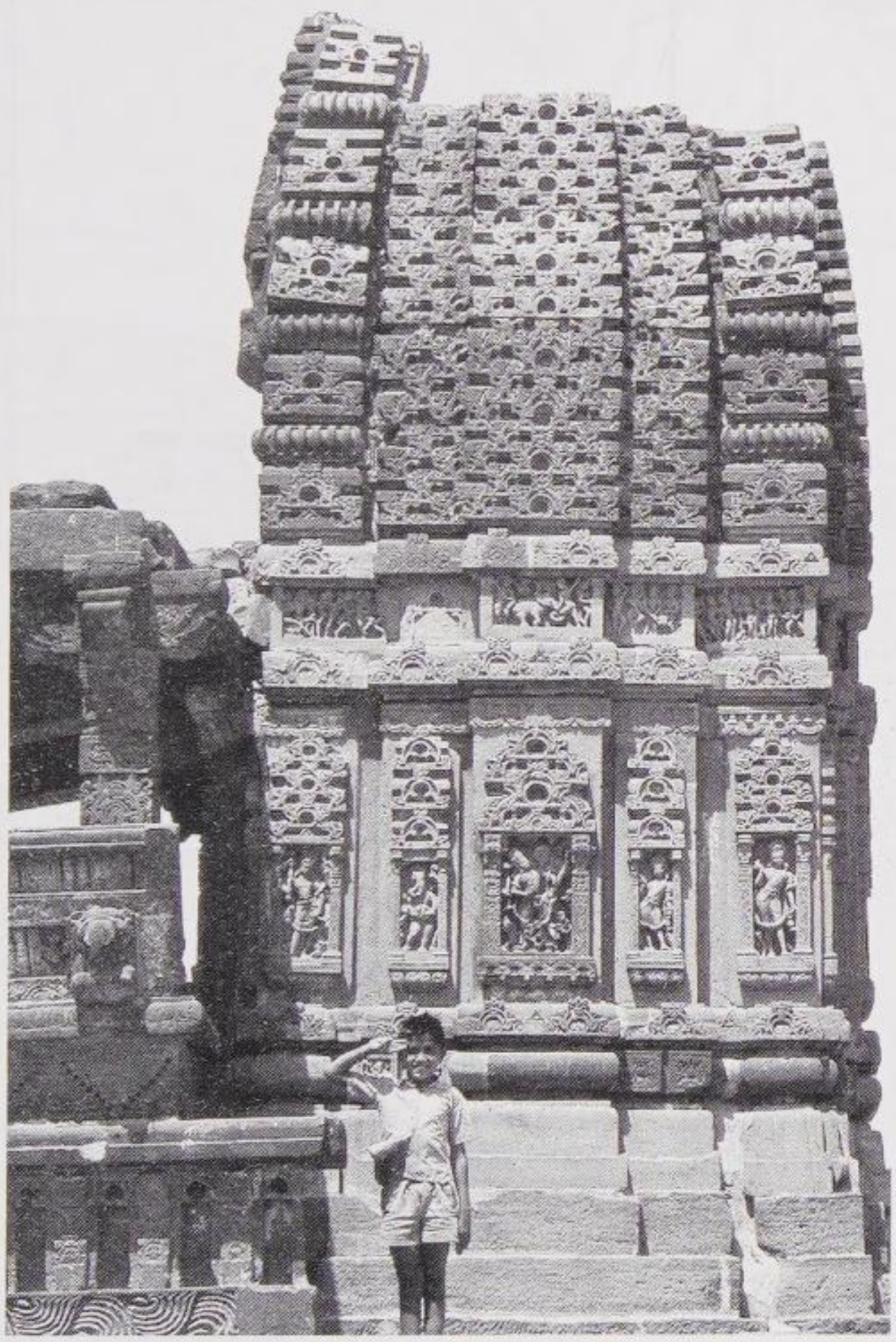
k. Mahavira Jain temple and school

1998

Plate 10. Osian: scaled ground plans. The Mahāvīra temple plan shows the compound with revisions and additions, ca. 1998.







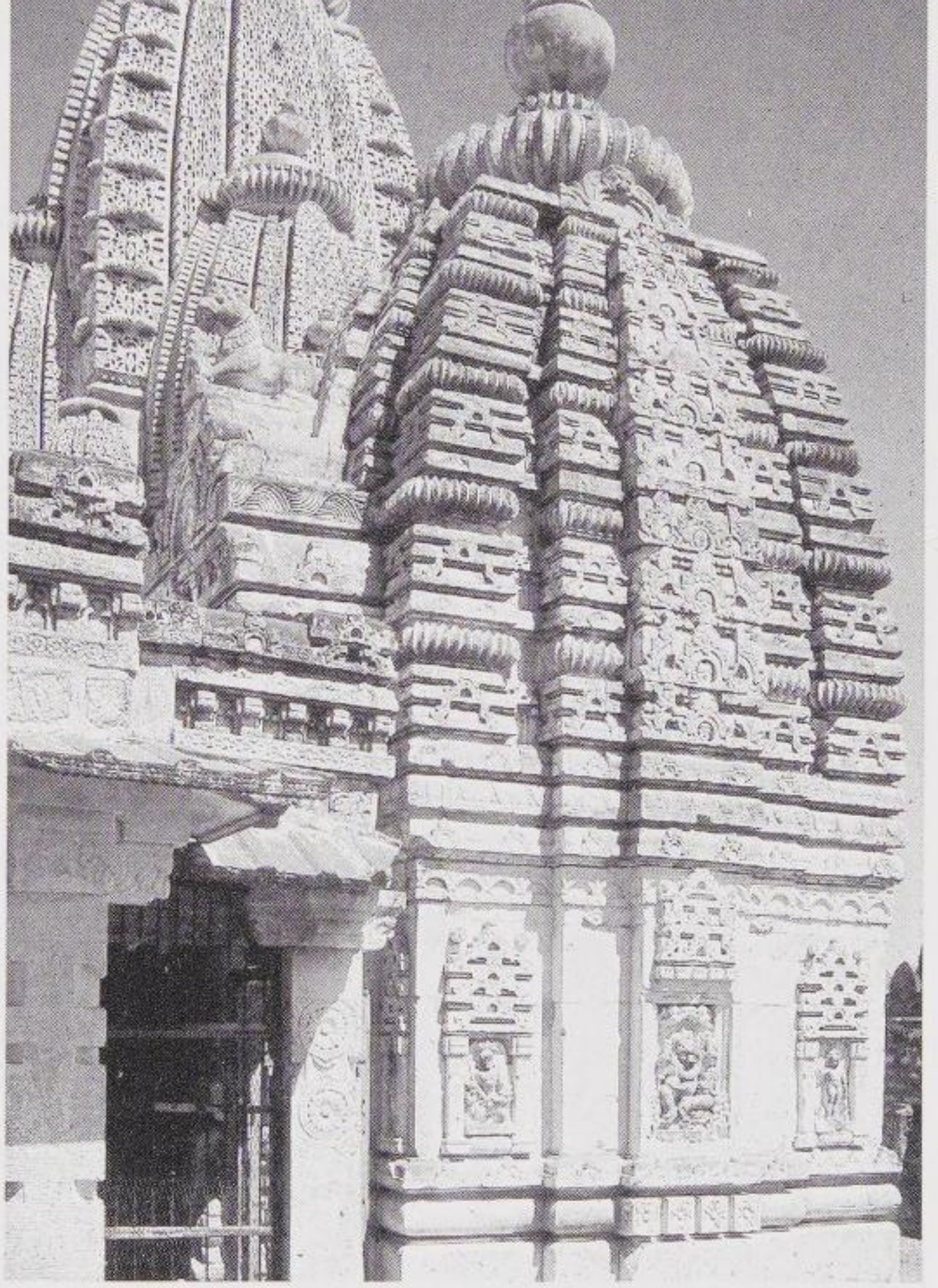


Plate 11. Osian, eighth-century temples: Sūrya temple no. 2 (with a replacement tenth-century *śikhara*) (top left); Harihara temple no. 1 (upper right); Sūrya temple no. 1, with the tower of the twelfth-century replacement of the Sacciyā Mātā temple behind (lower right); and Harihara temple 2 (lower left).

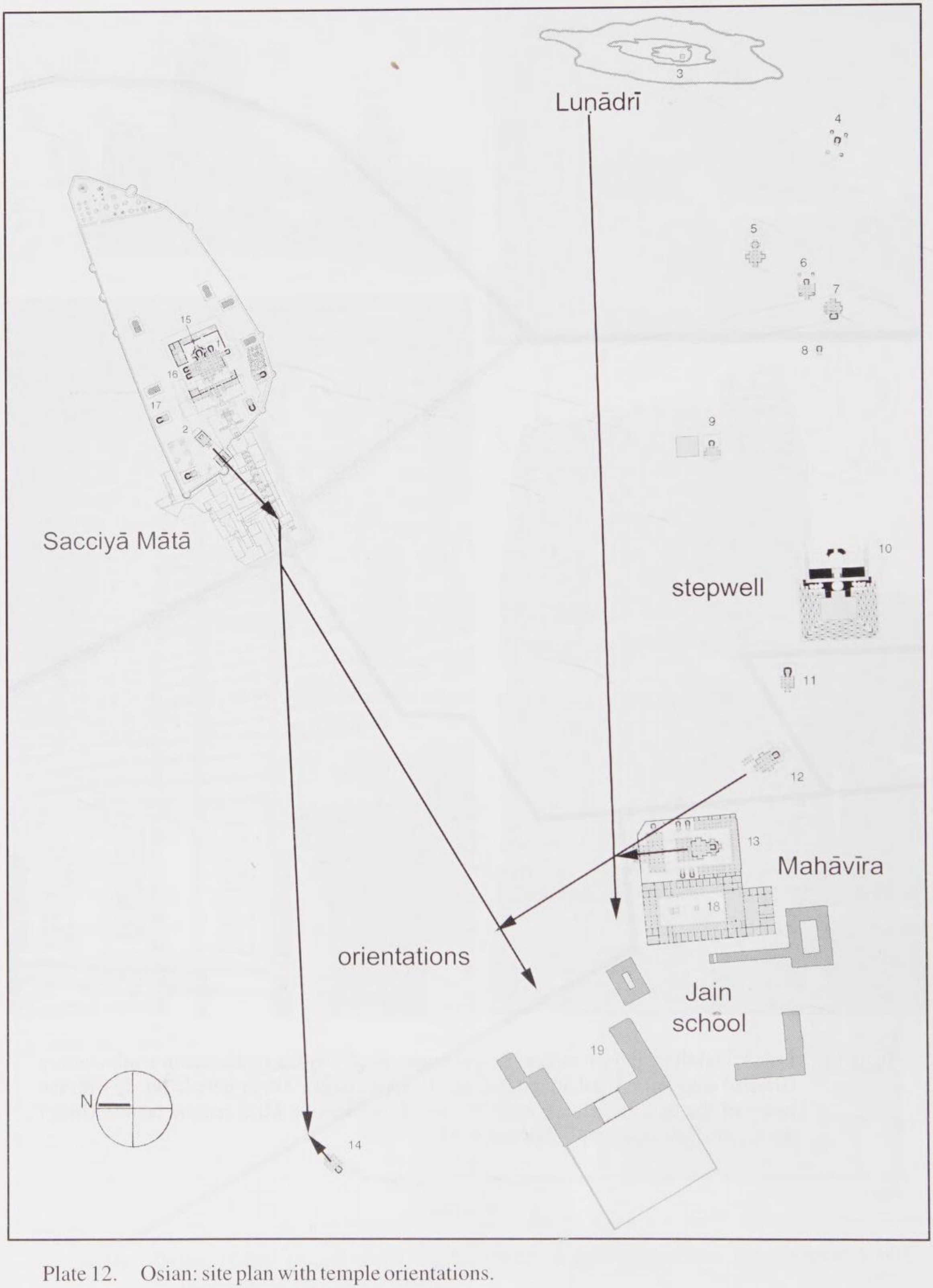
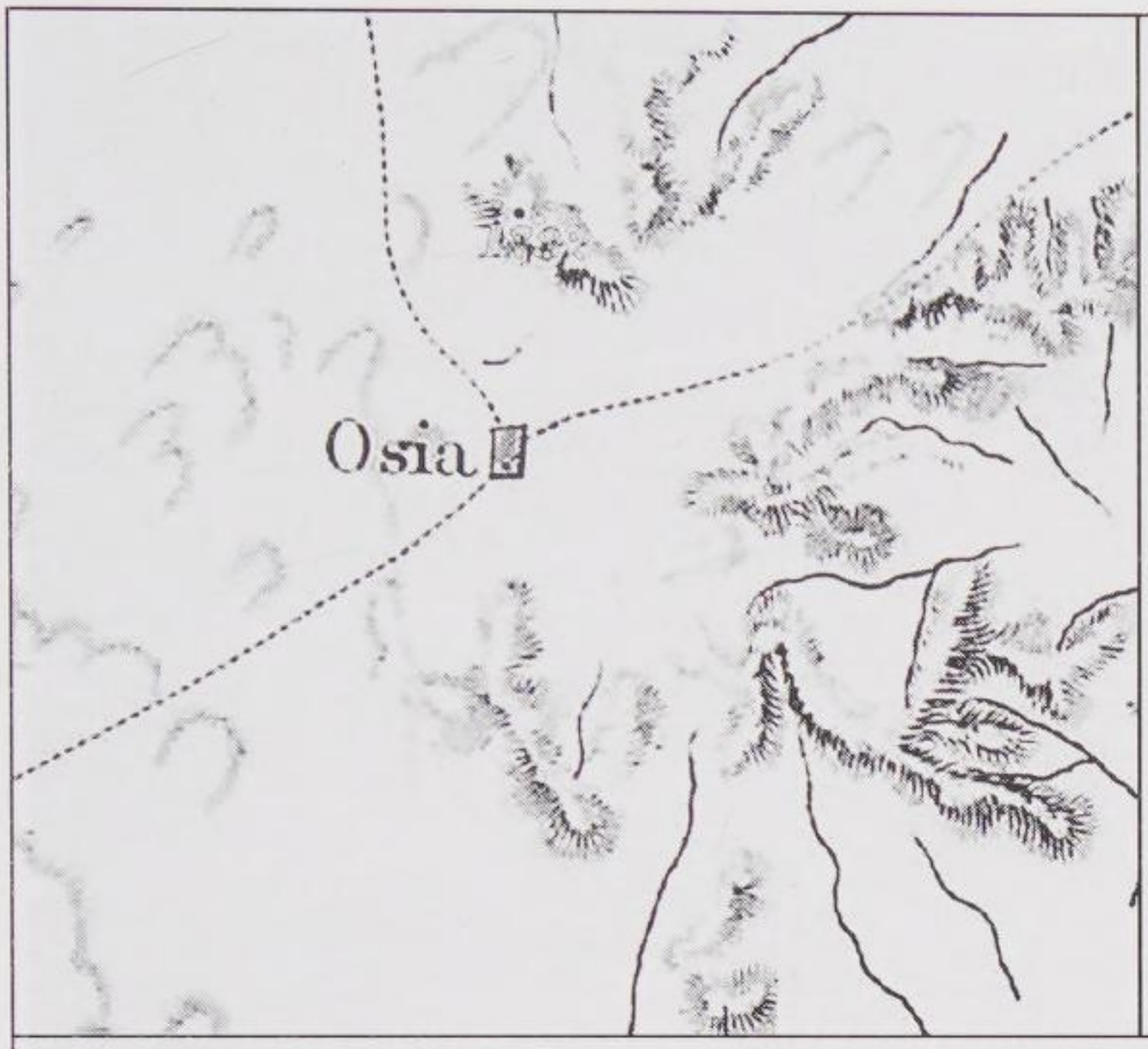
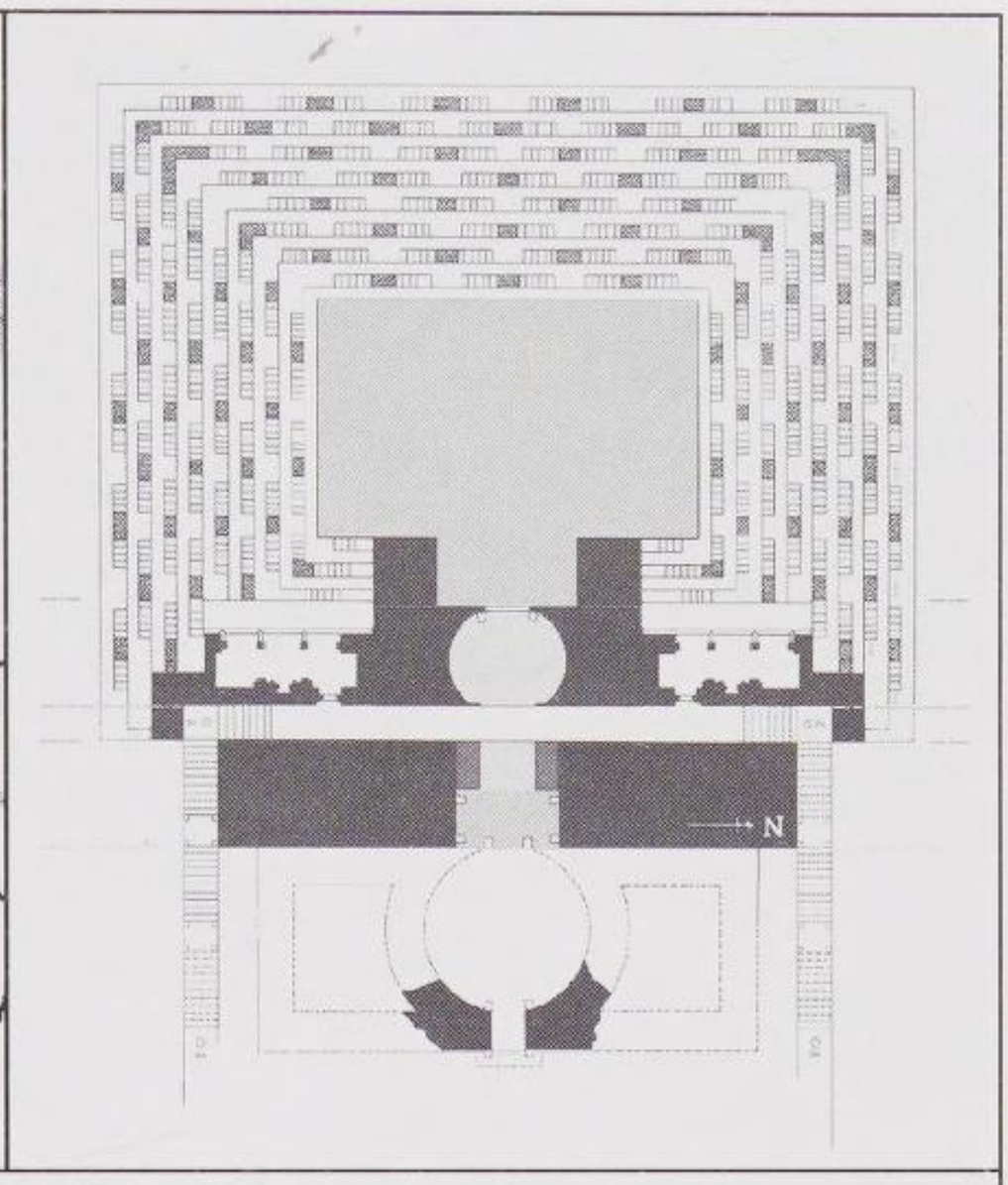


Plate 12. Osian: site plan with temple orientations.





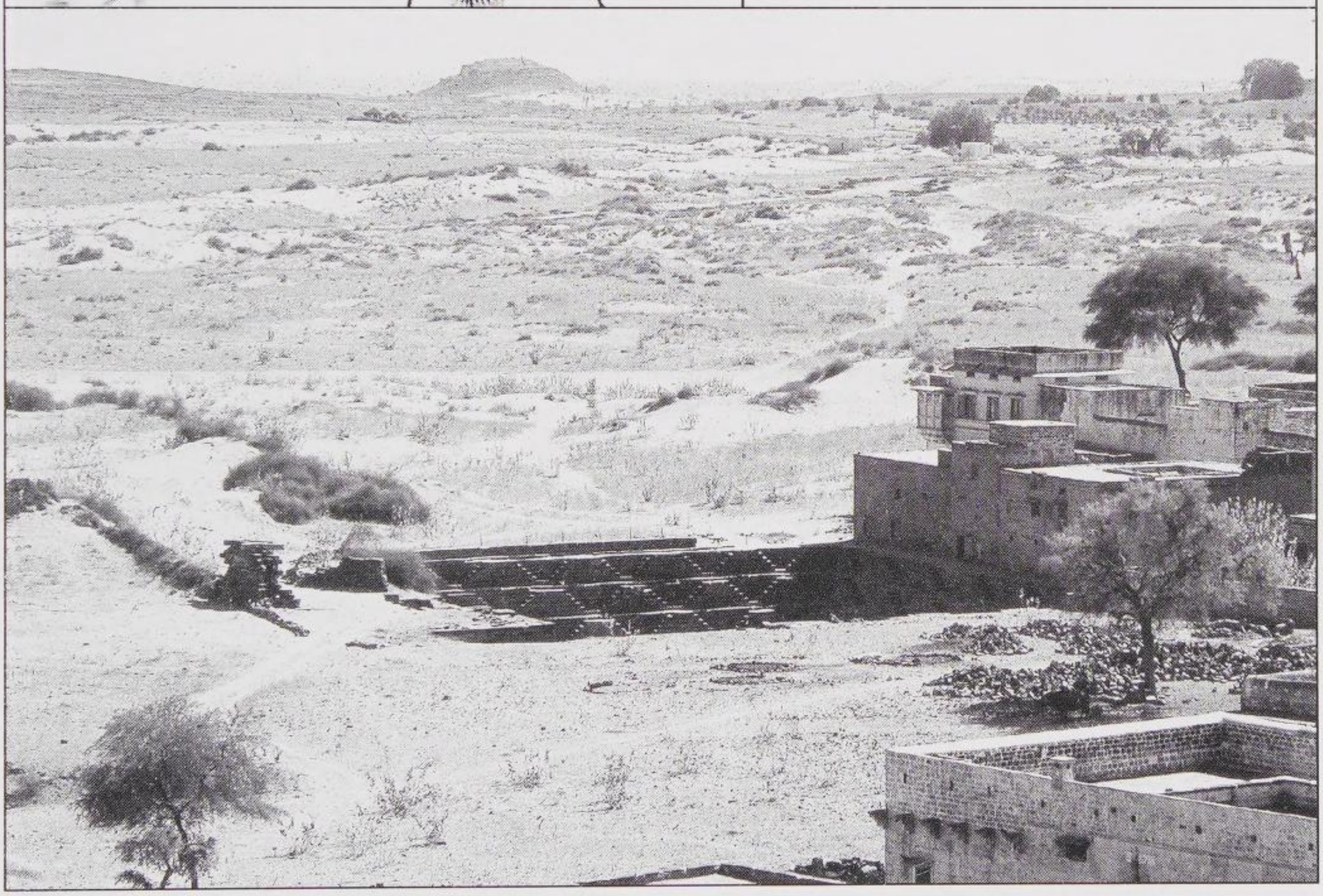


Plate 13. Osian, step-well: catchment area (upper left); plan (upper right); and view from Sacciyā Mātā temple (bottom).

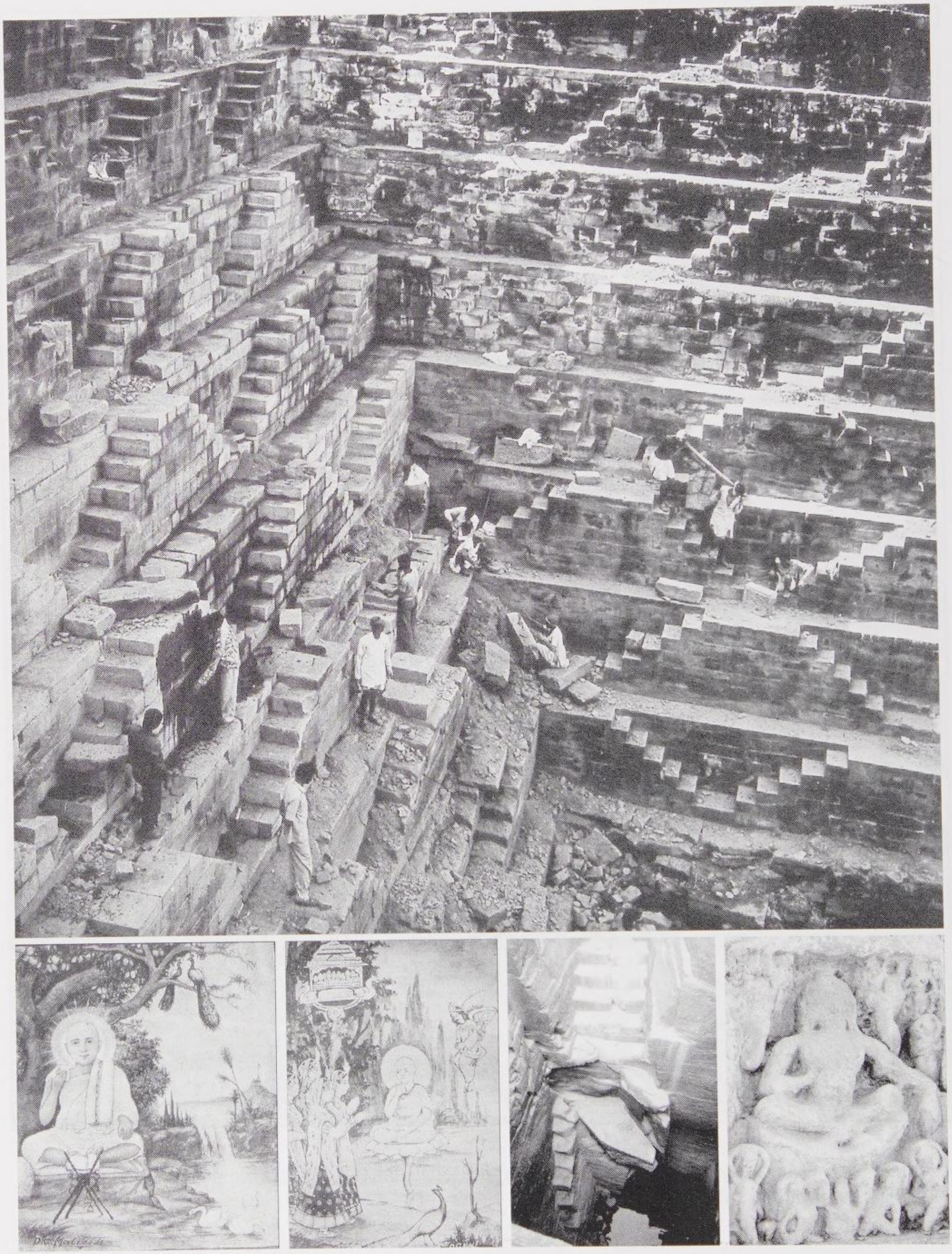


Plate 14. Osian, step-well: recent excavation of lower levels (top); illustrations of Ratnaprabhasūri and Svayamprabhasūri at Osian from Jñānsundar, *Jain Jāti Mahoday*, 1929 (lower left); Mandor (Jodhpur), rock-cut step-well, inscribed VS 742/685 CE, and an image of Mahādeva carved on the rock-face above (lower right).

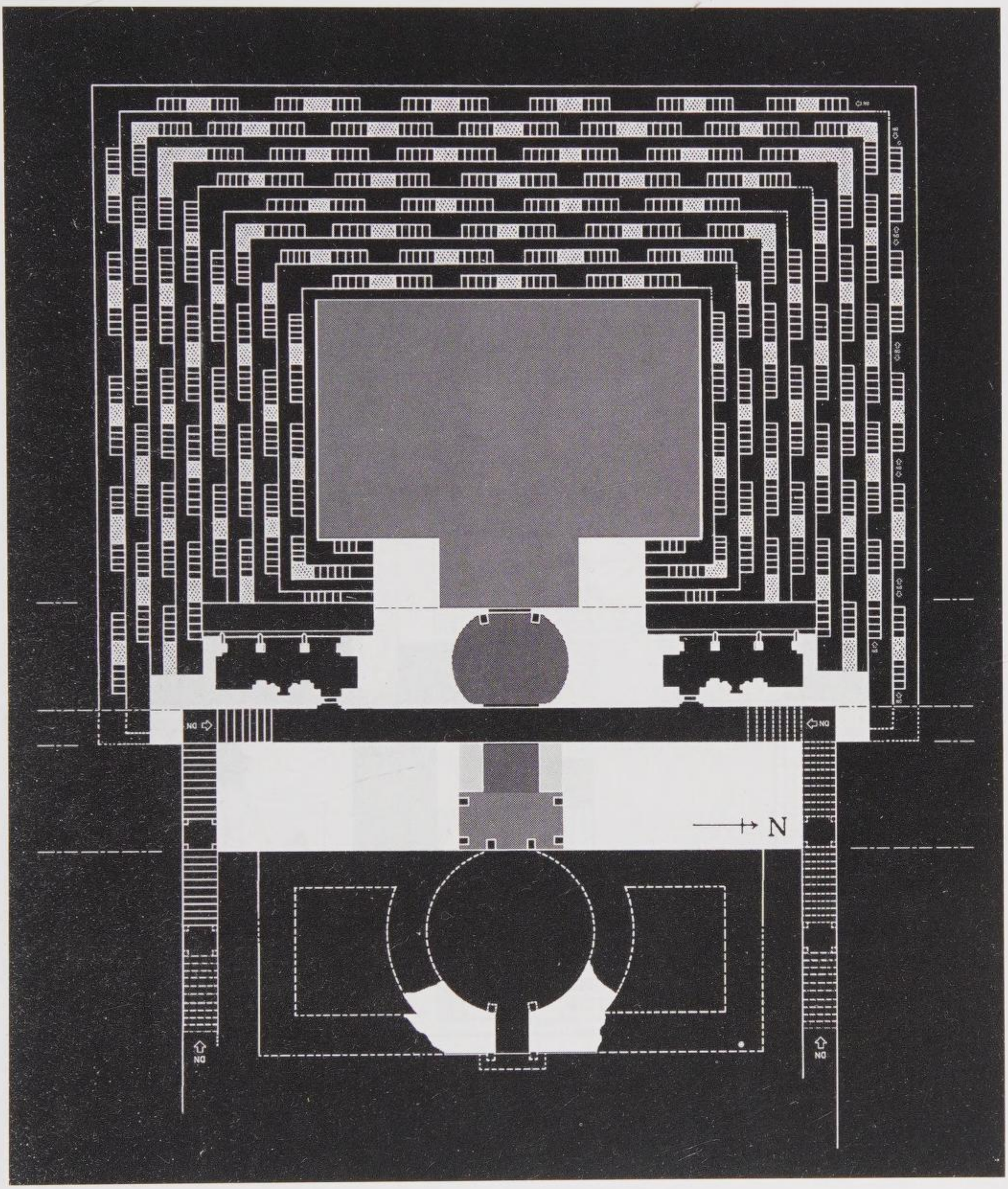


Plate 15. Osian: plan, drop-well, step-well, and tank.

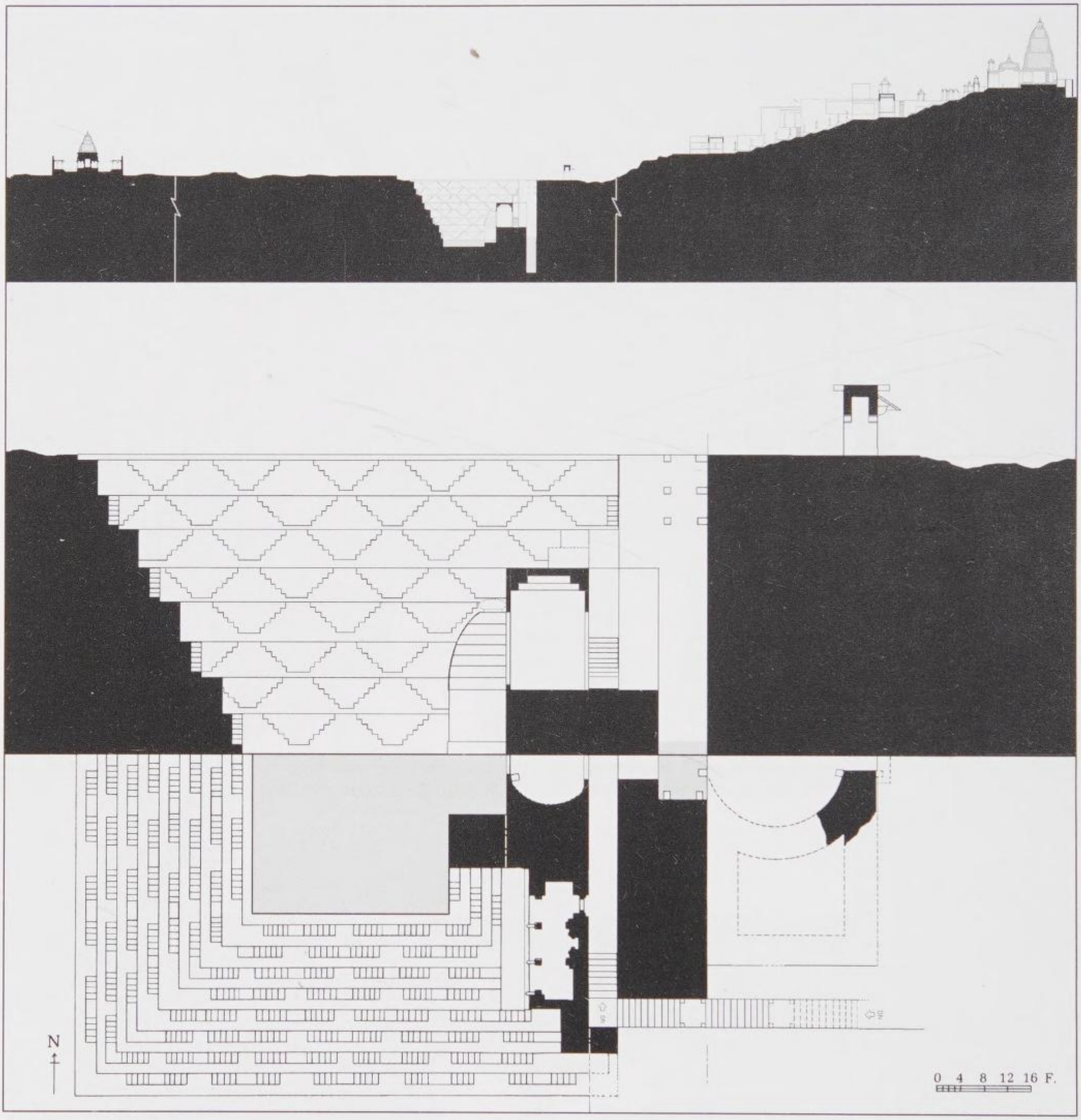


Plate 16. Osian: section of site (top); step-well, elevation, and plan (bottom).

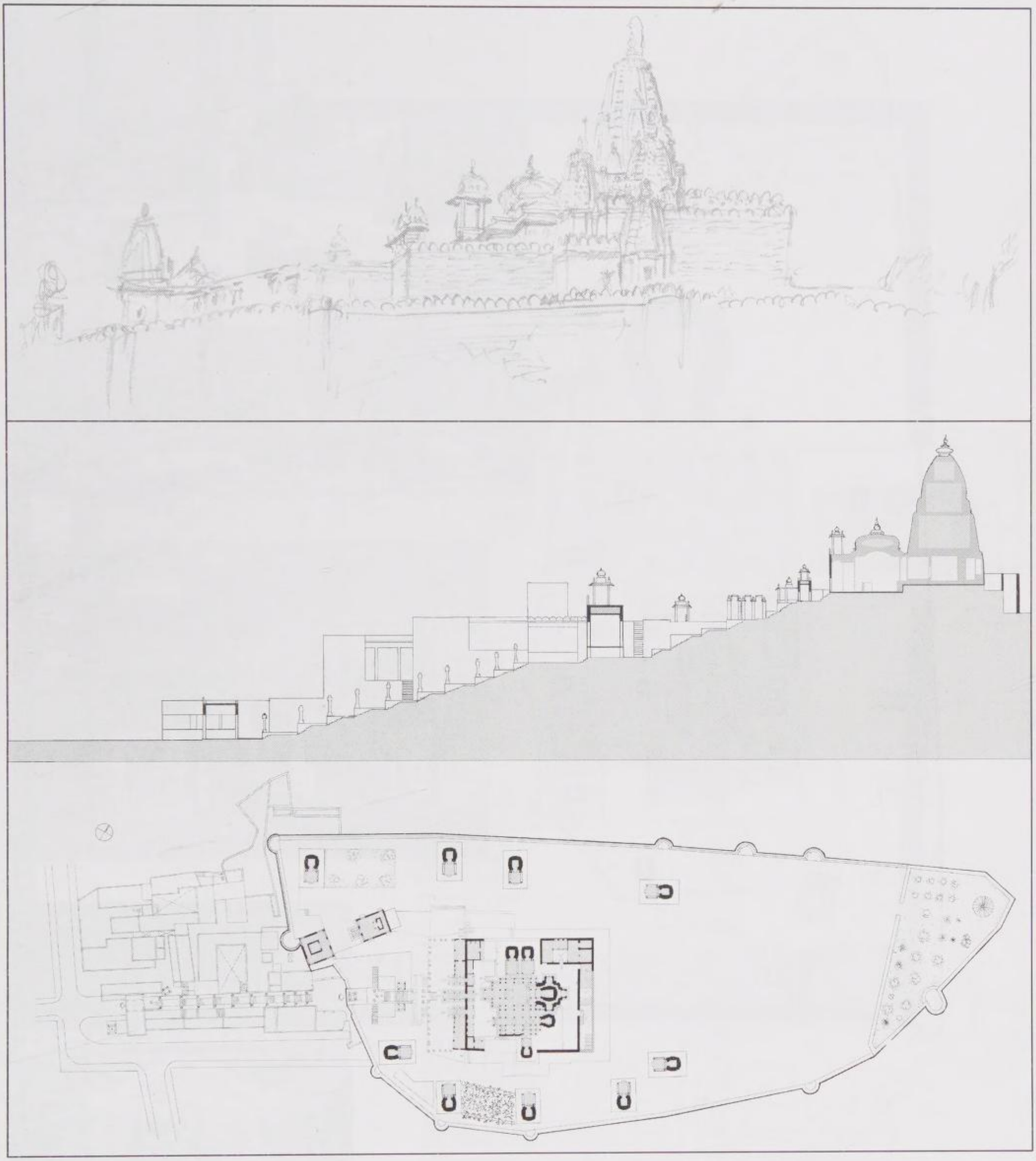
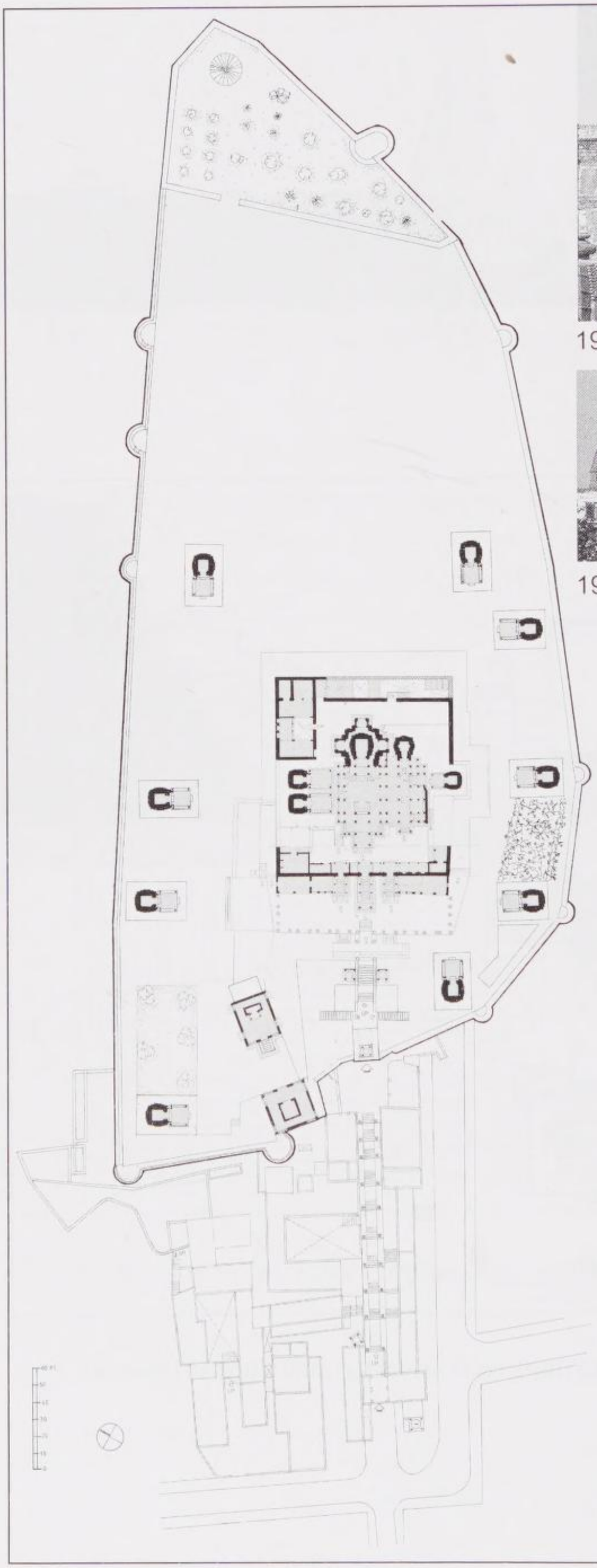
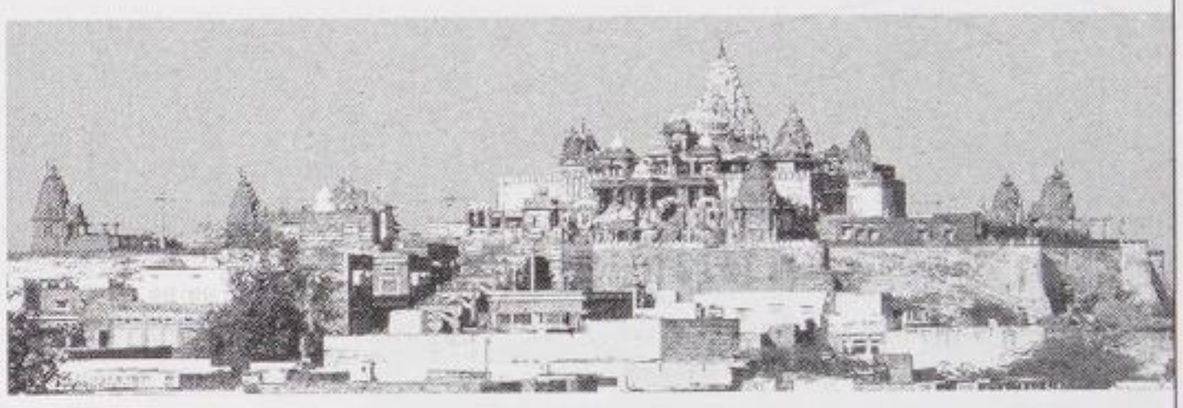


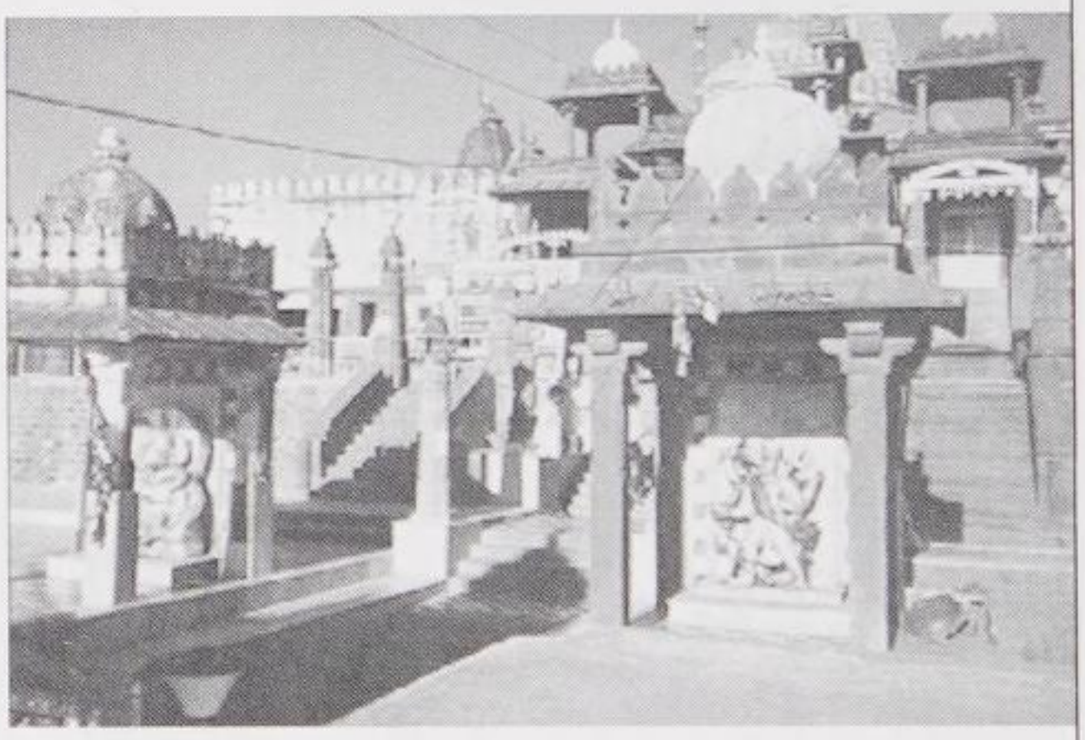
Plate 17. Sacciyā Mātā hill: sketch by Ajit Parikh (top), section (center), and site plan (bottom).



1972



1998



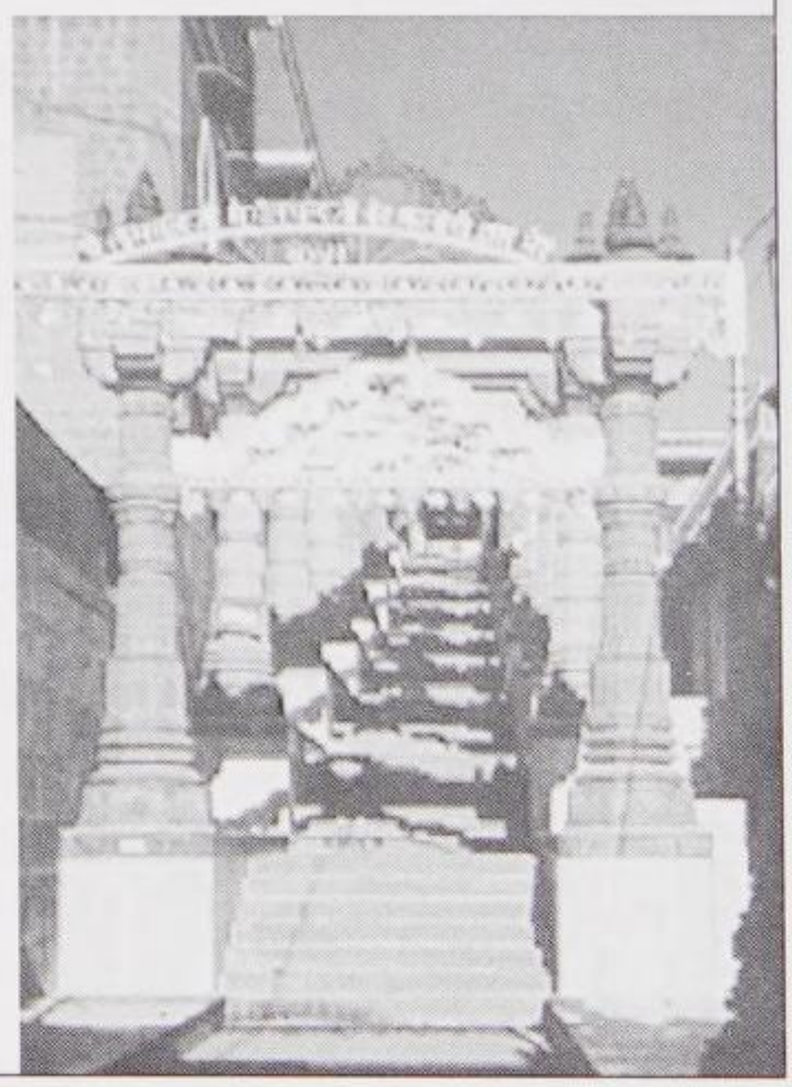


Plate 18. Sacciyā Mātā hill: changes and additions, 1972–98.

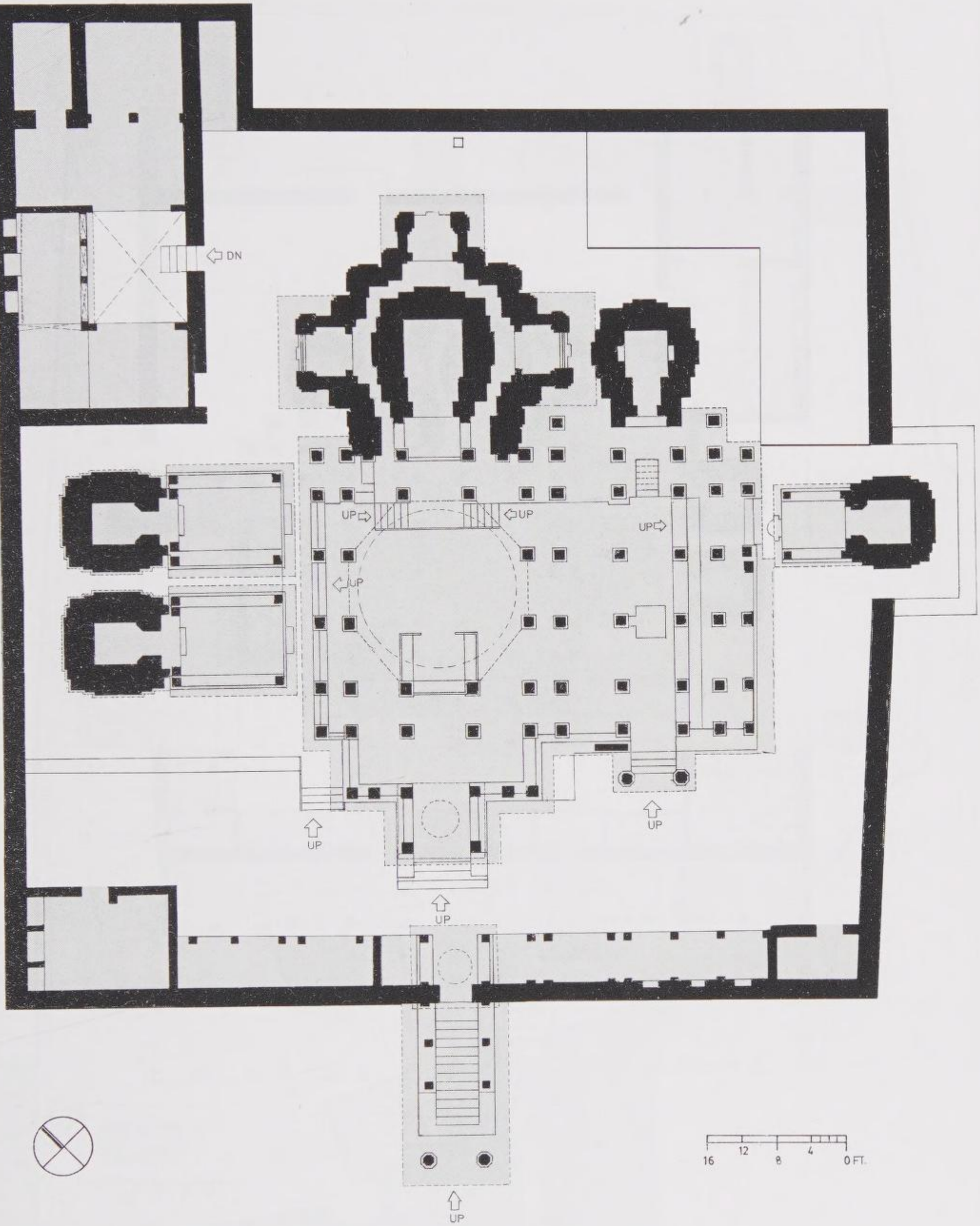


Plate 19. Sacciyā Mātā temple compound: ground plan, 1972.

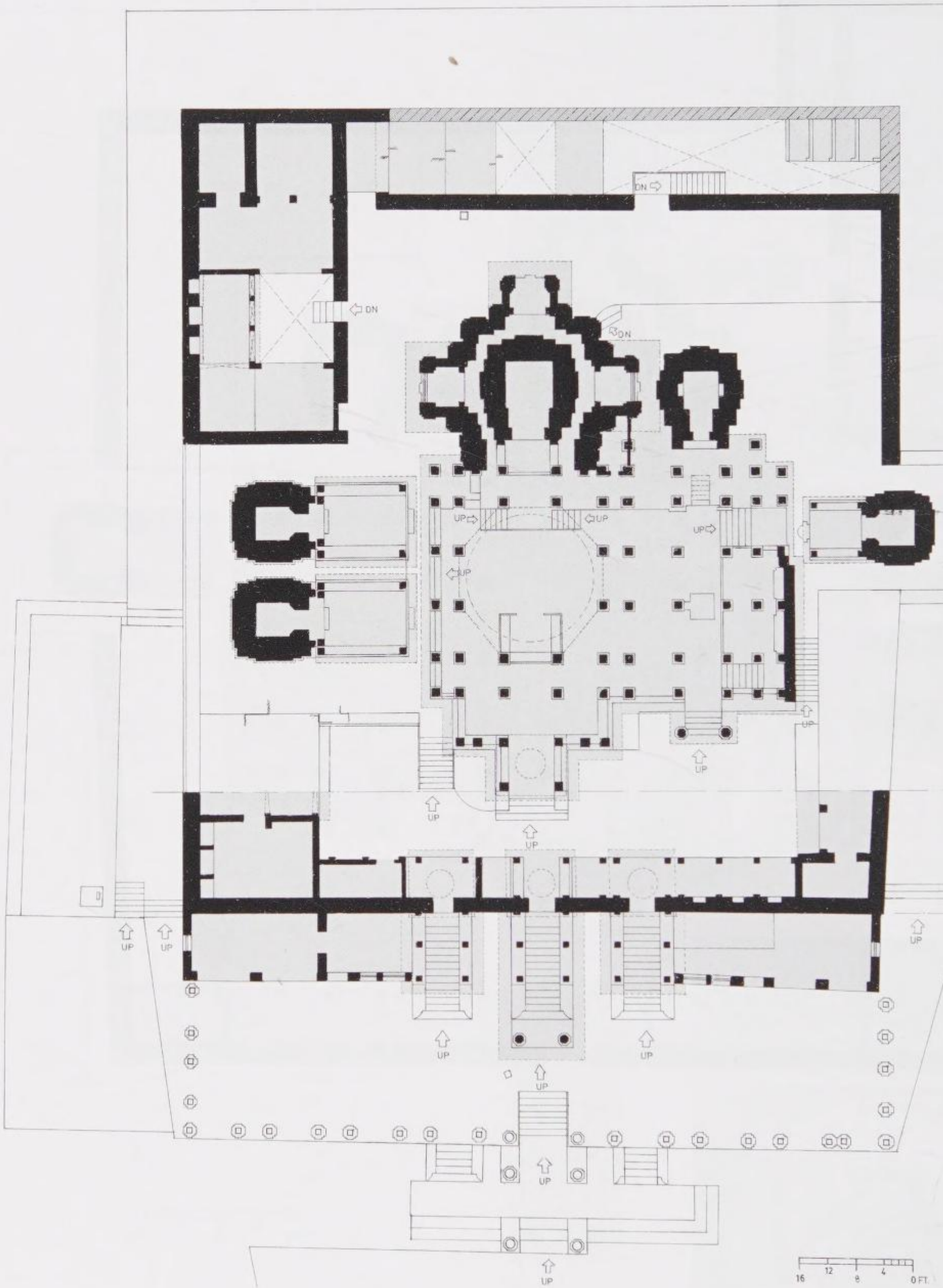


Plate 20. Sacciyā Mātā temple compound: ground plan, 1998.

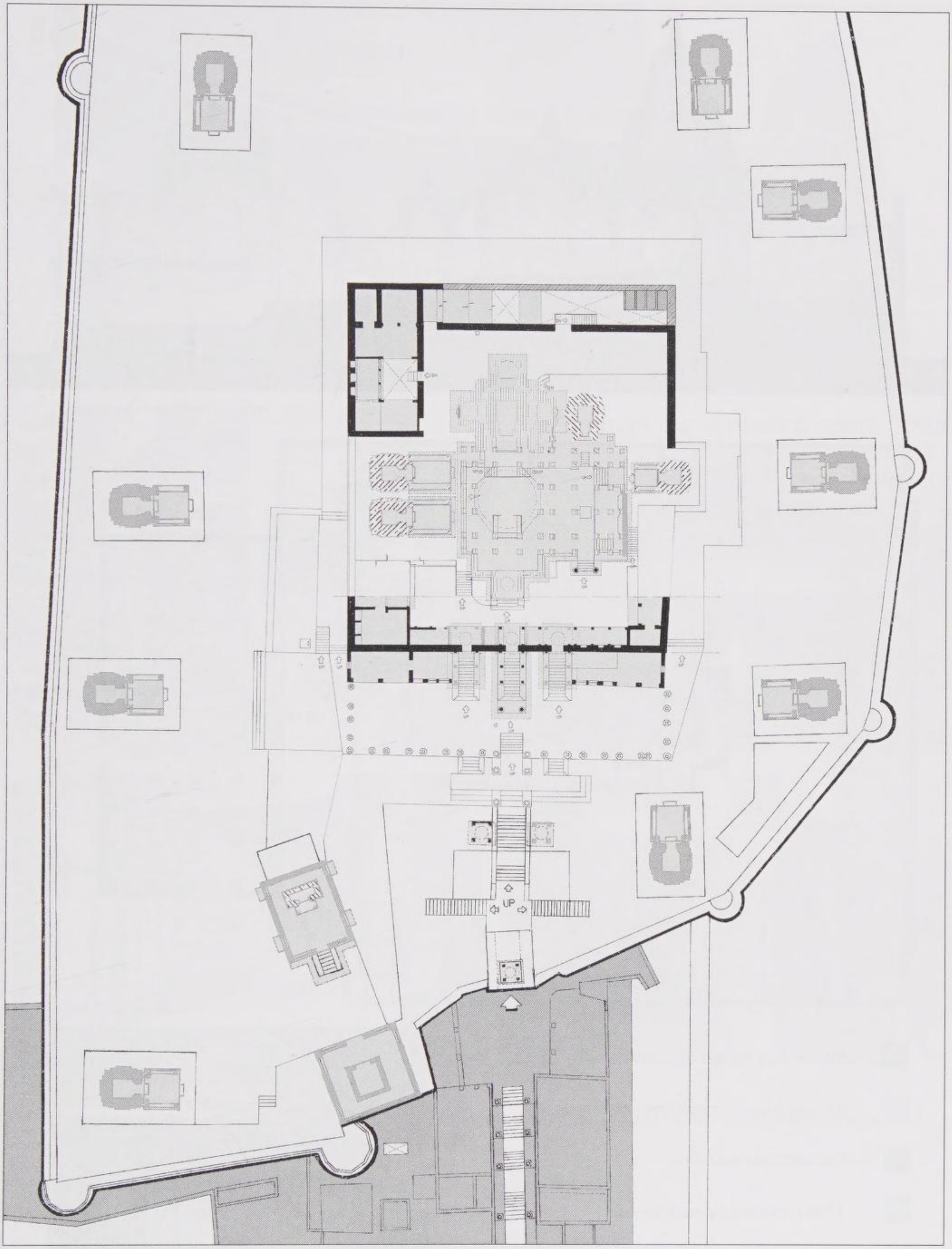


Plate 21. Sacciyā Mātā hill: phases of development.

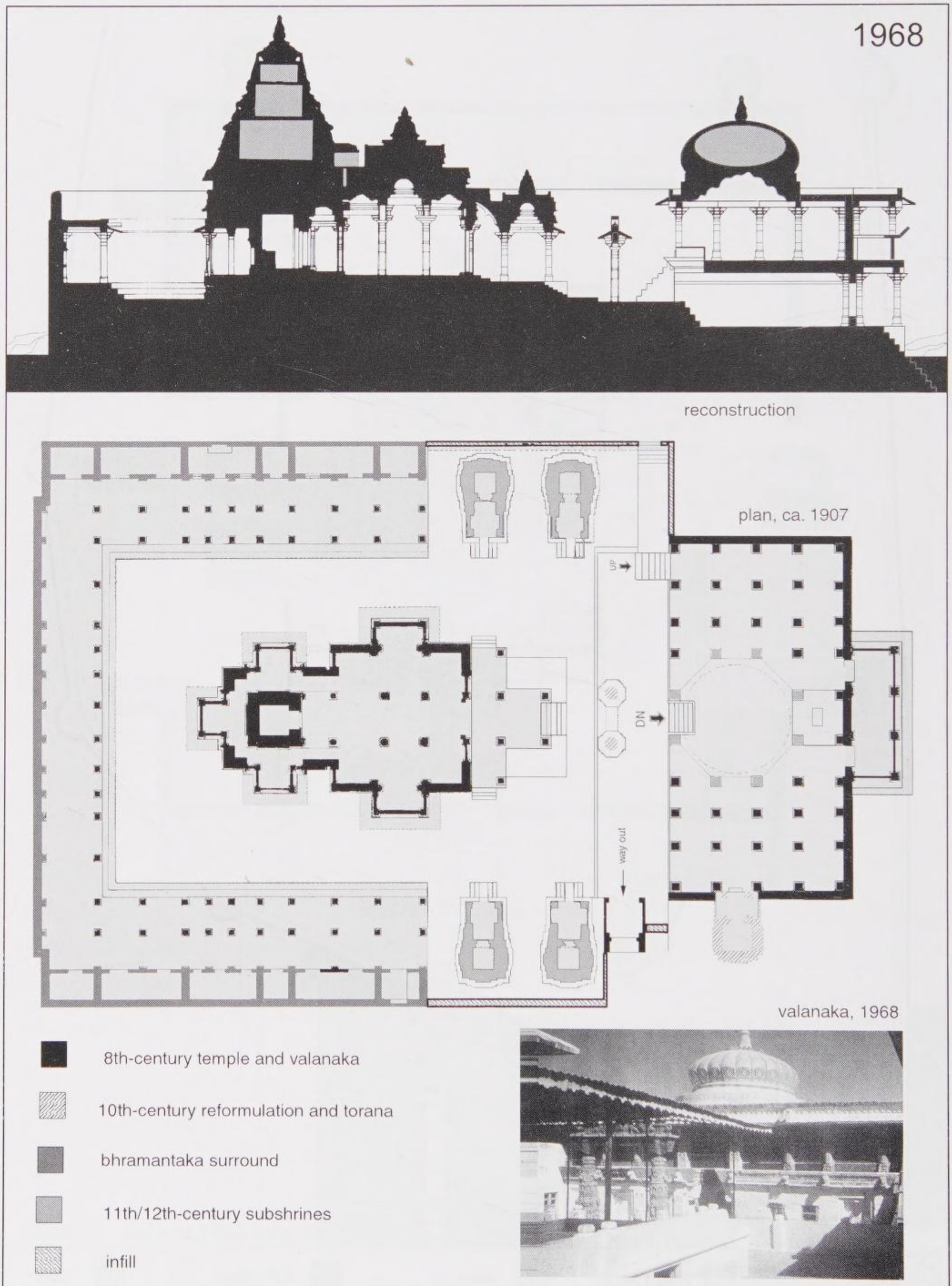
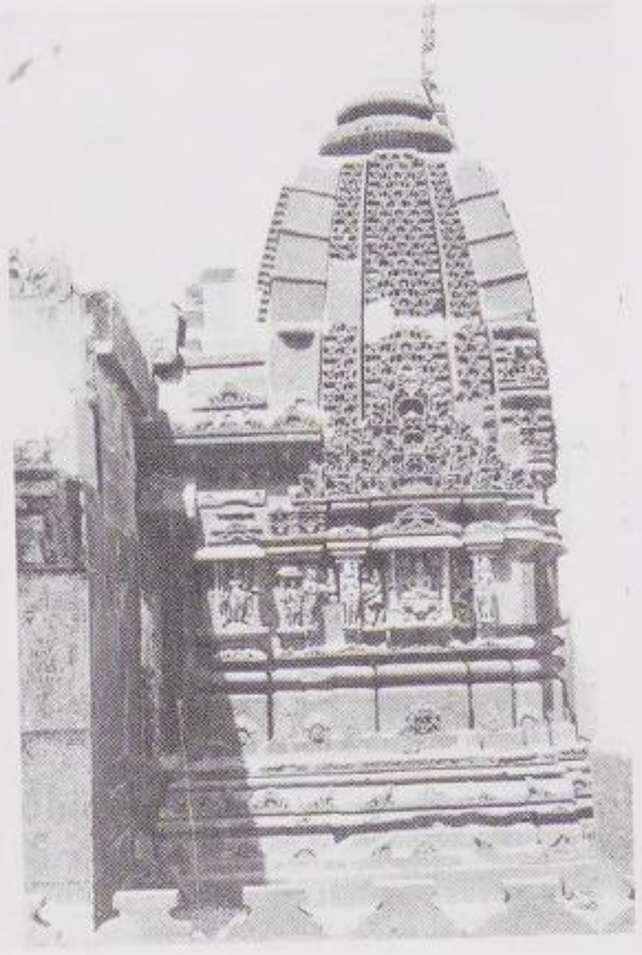
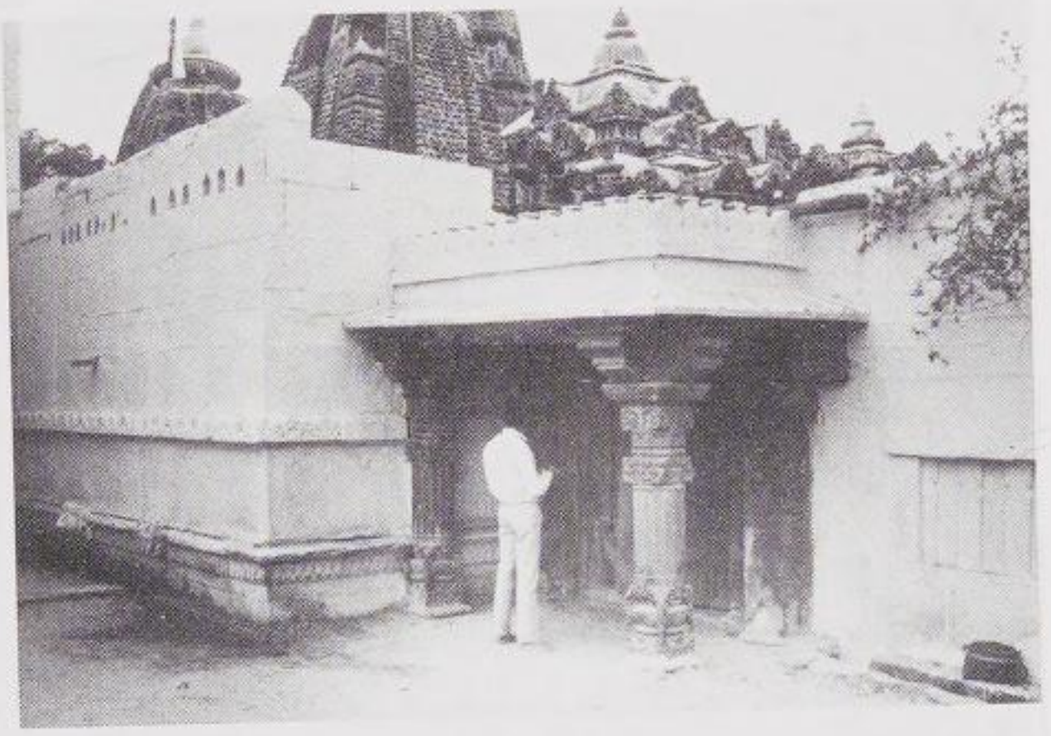
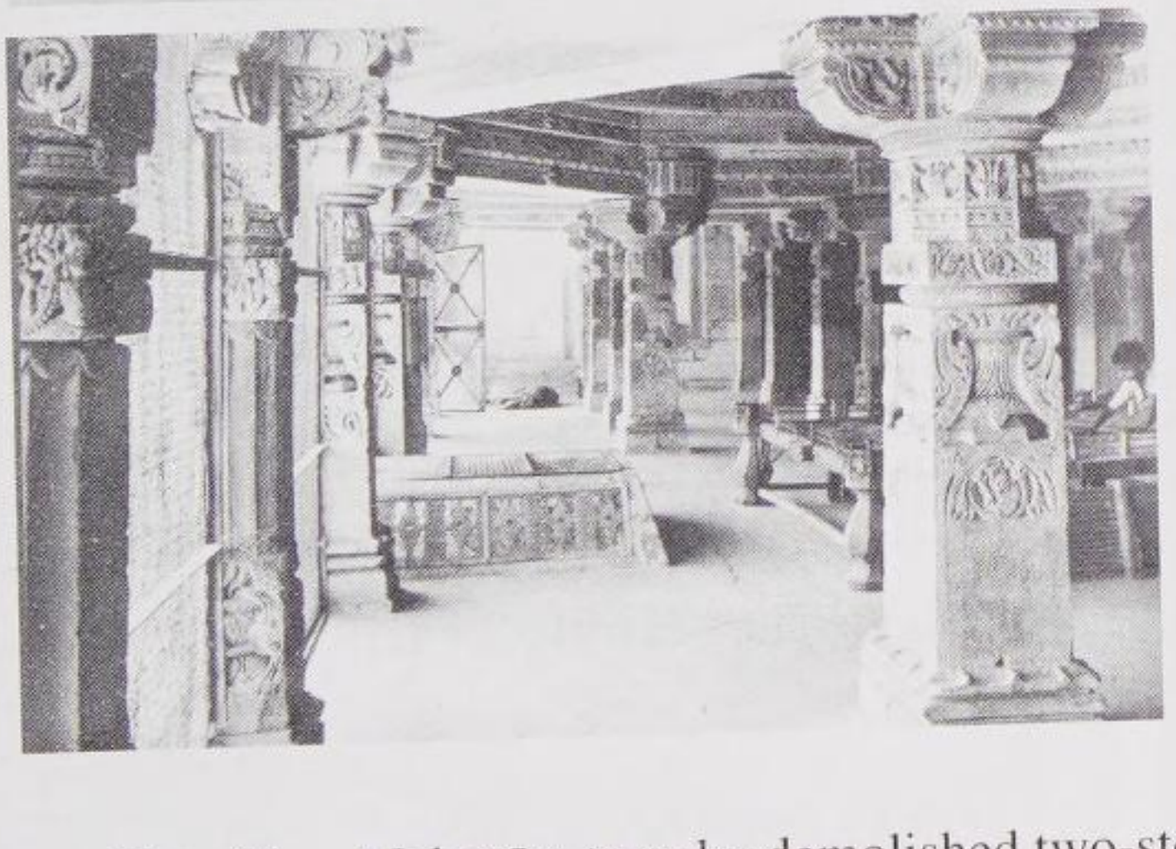


Plate 22. Mahāvīra temple, phases of development: section and ground plan (top) with reconstruction of the two-story entry hall (lower right).



evidence for entry hall & court, 1968





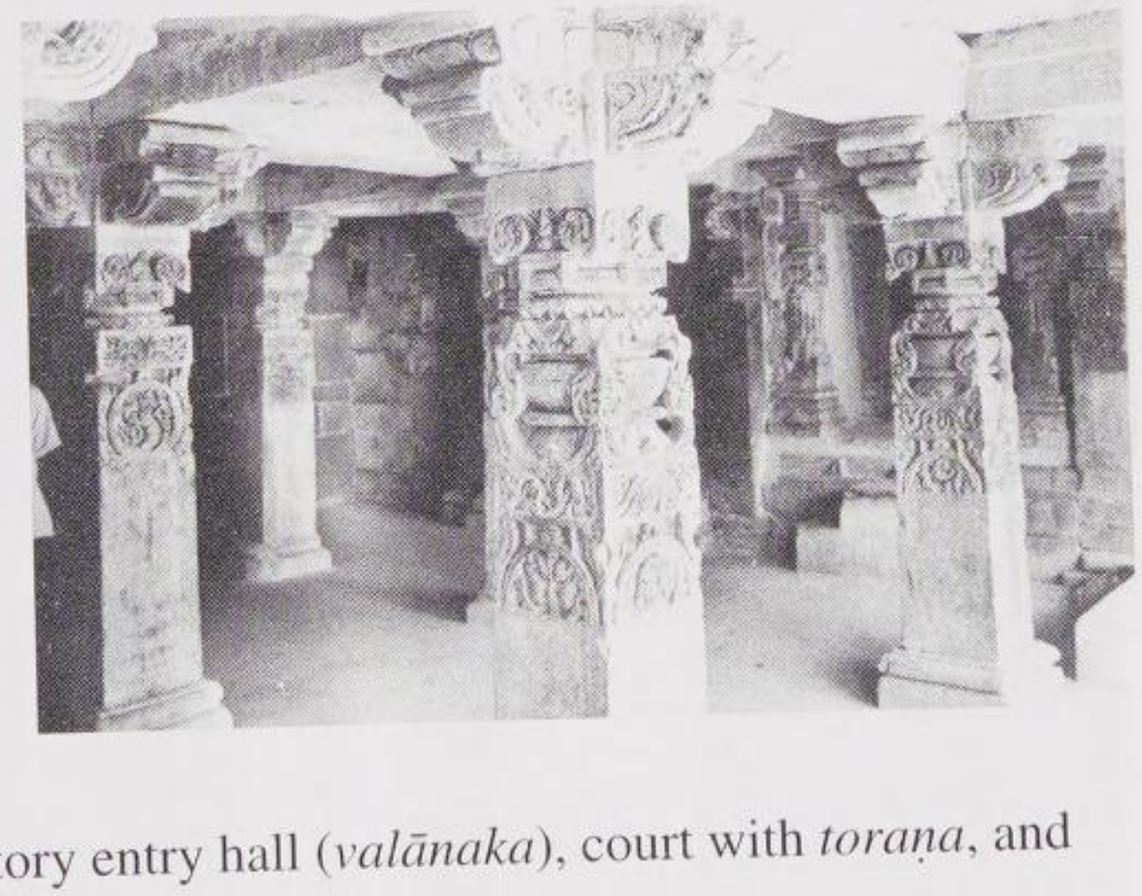


Plate 23. Mahāvīra temple: demolished two-story entry hall (*valānaka*), court with *toraṇa*, and NE side entry, documented in 1968.

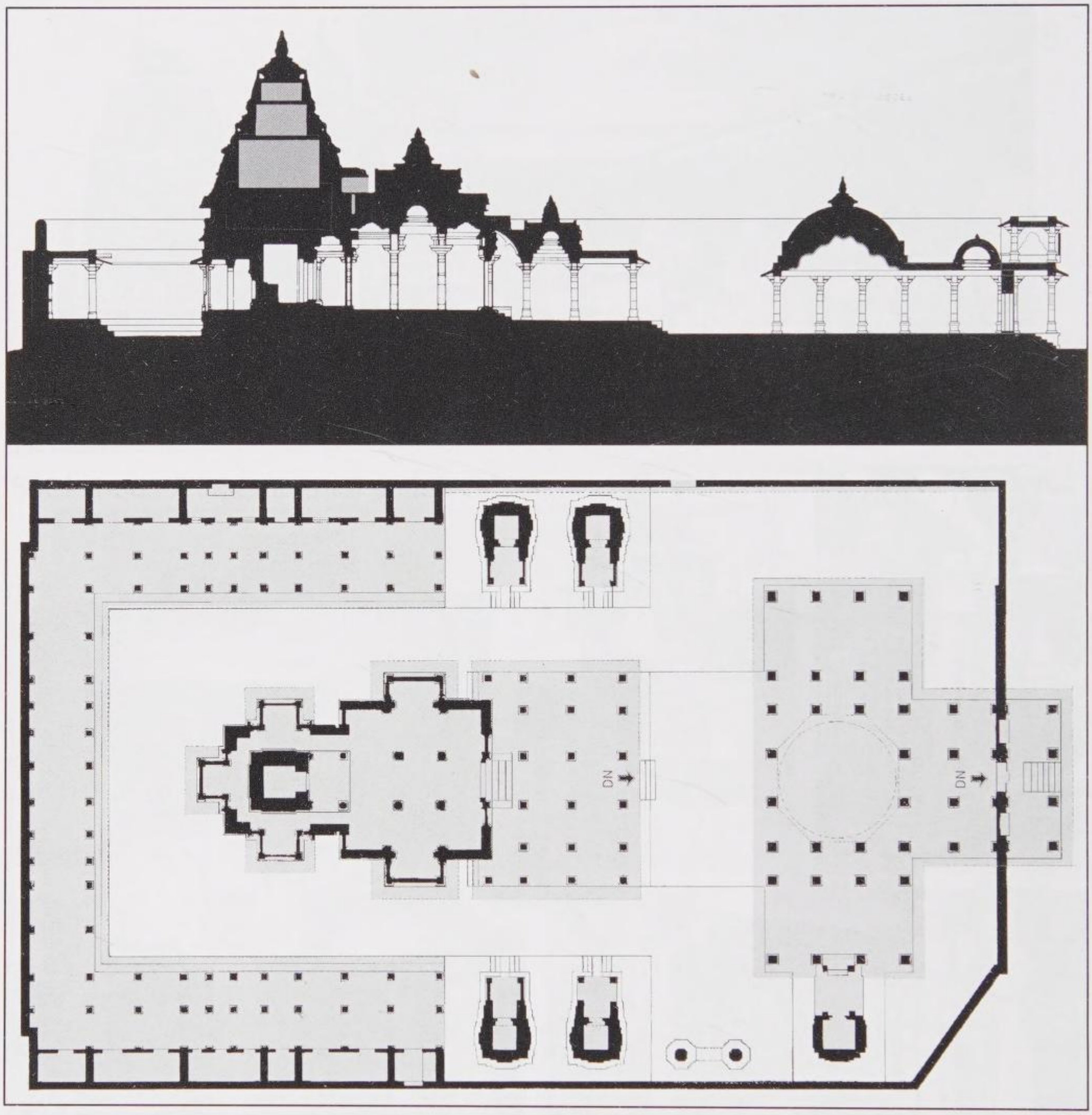
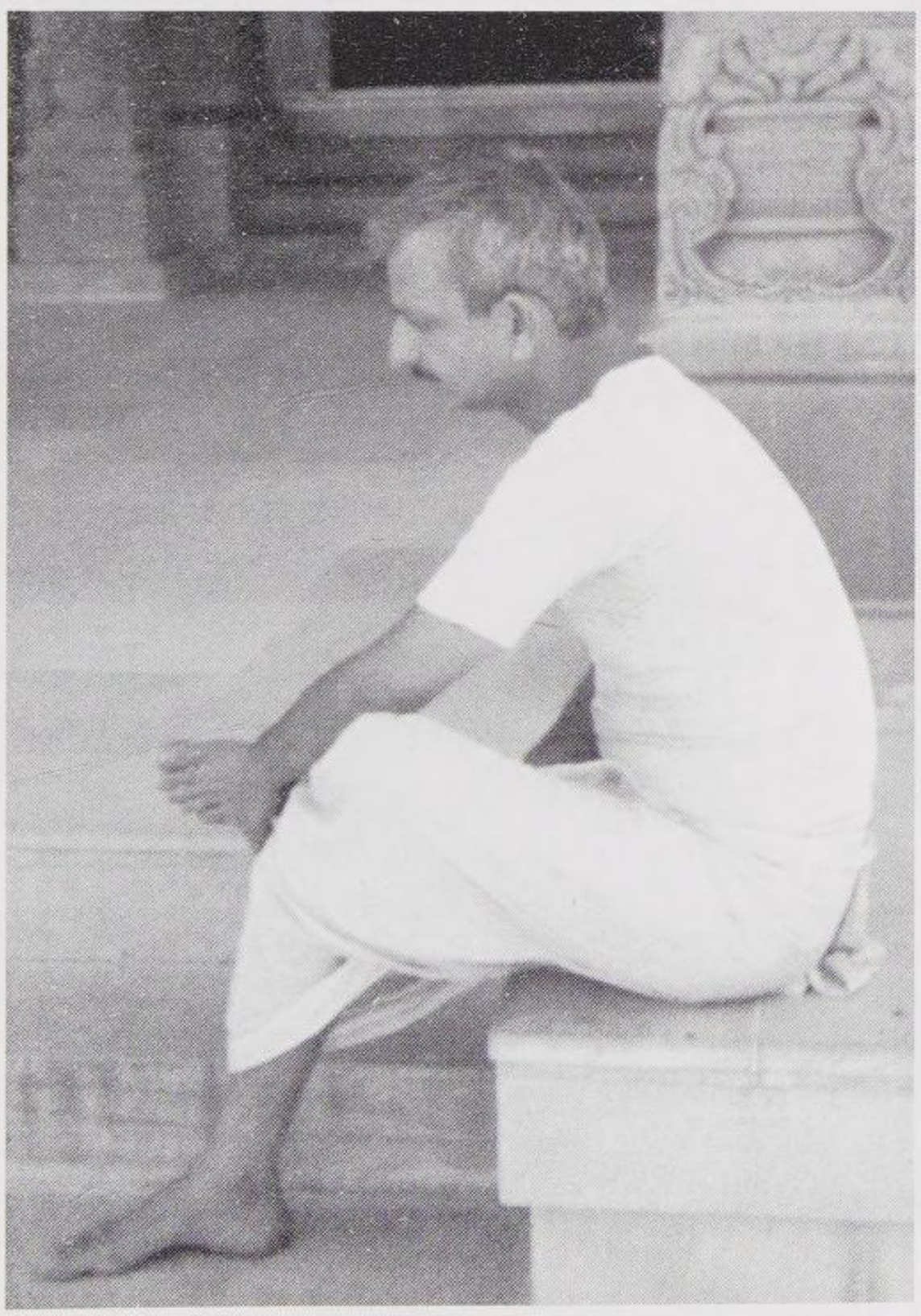


Plate 24. Mahāvīra temple: section and ground plan with single-story entry hall, ca. 1998.



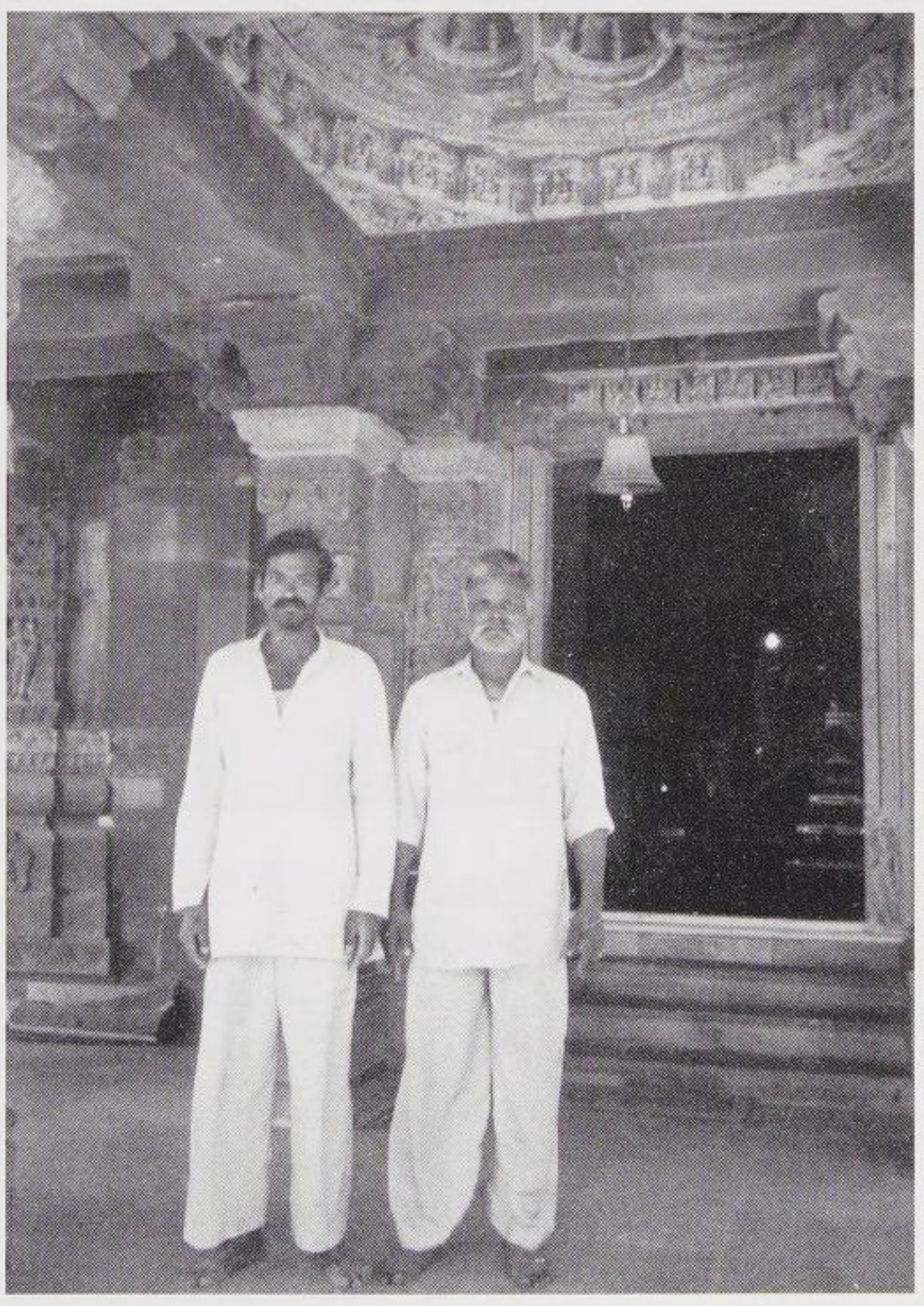


Plate 25. People as agents of change: Chuna Ram Prajapat, sculptor and mason (top); Chuna Ram with Gepu Khan, mason and architect (lower right); Bhanu Prakash, *pujārī*, Mahāvīra temple (lower left).

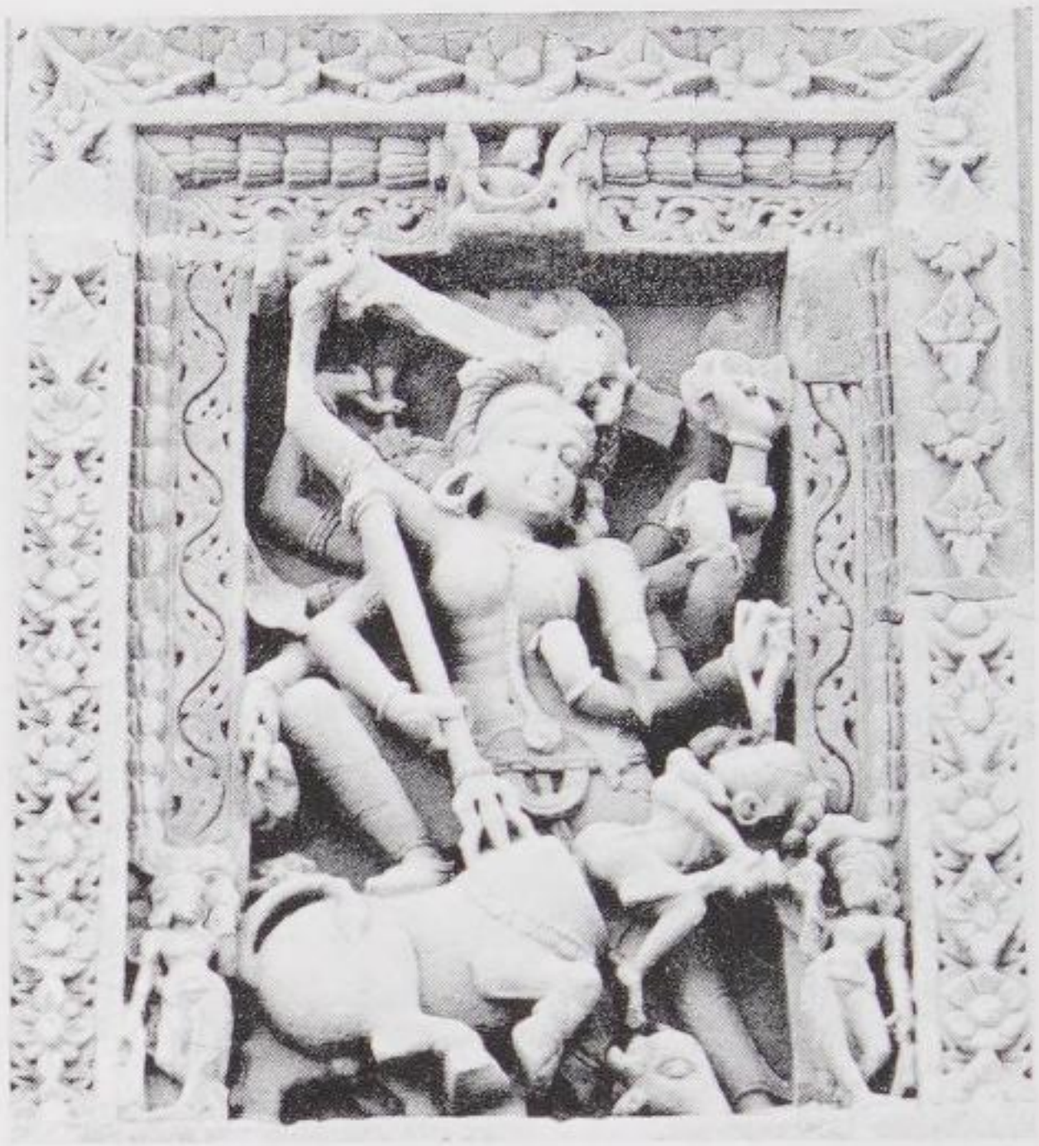
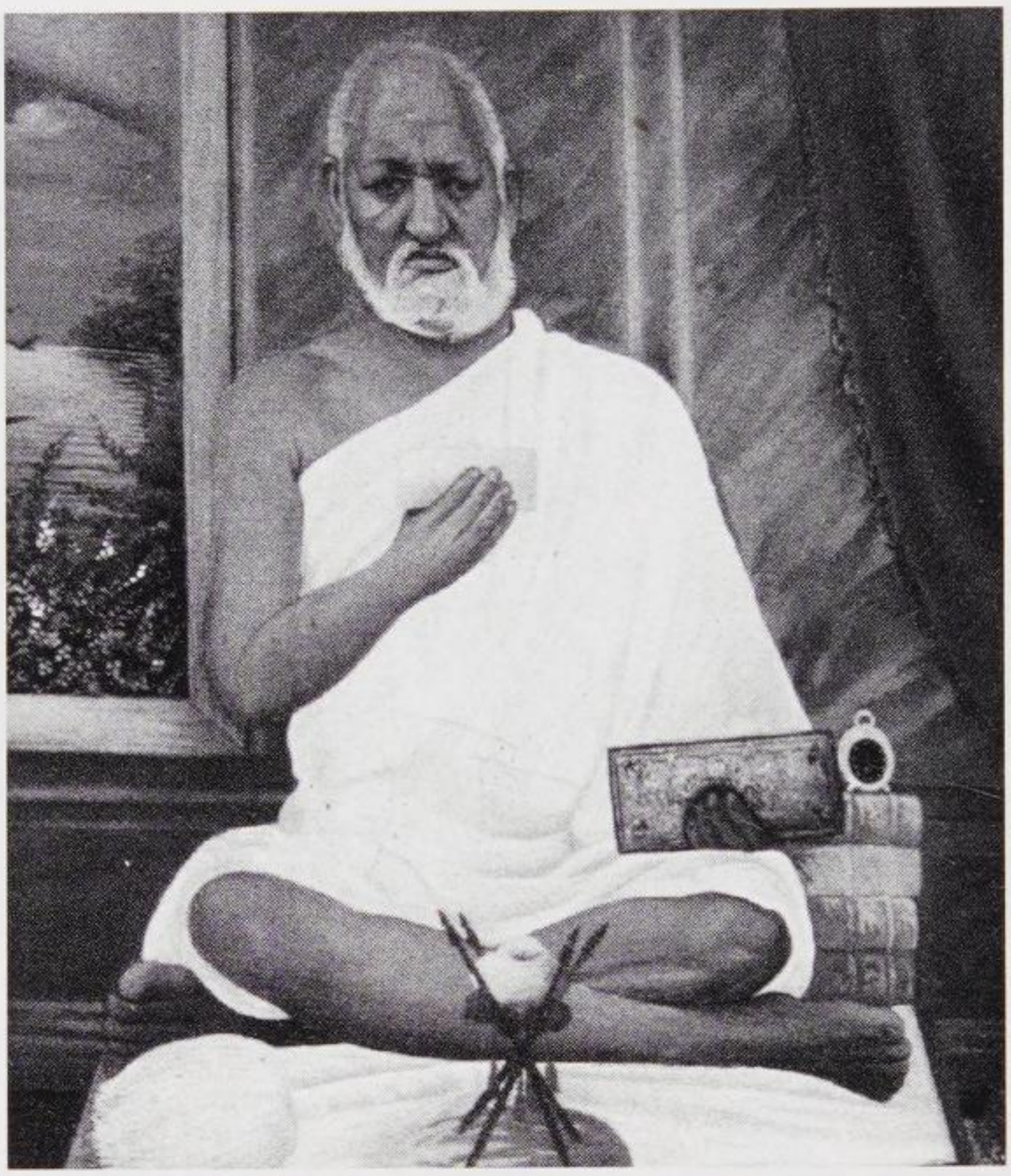
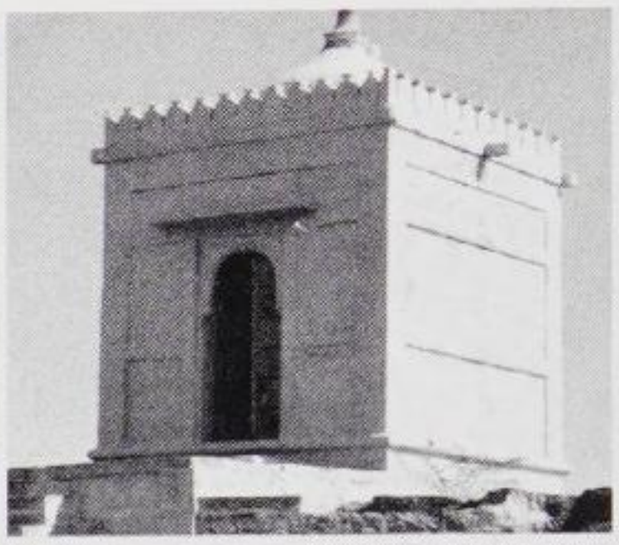
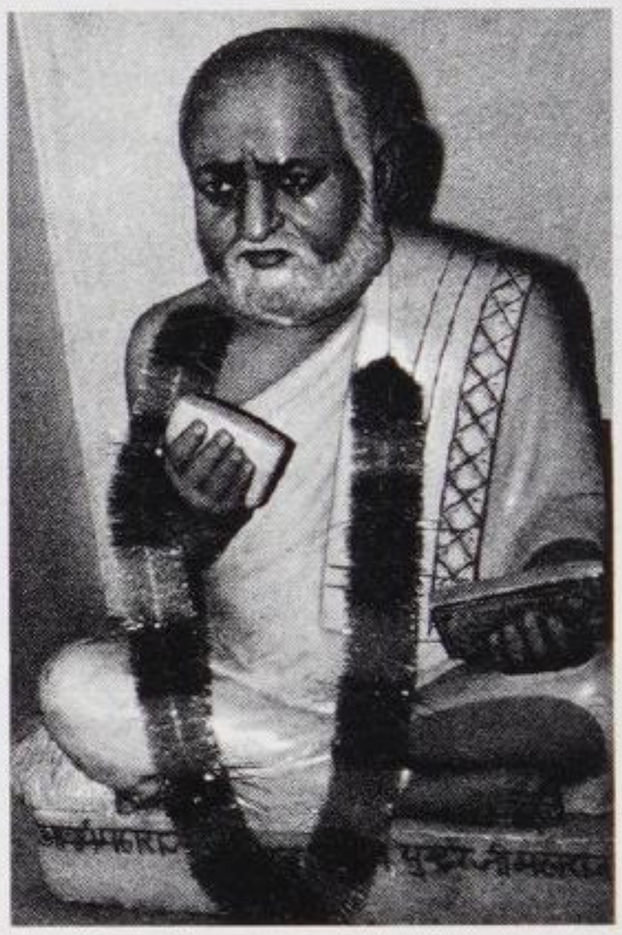


Plate 26. Sacciyā Mātā temple *gūḍha-maṇḍapa*, Kṣemaṅkarī sculpture, possibly the original eighth-century cult-image (left); Sūrya temple no. 2, north *bhadra*, sculpture of Durgā slaying the buffalo demon Mahiṣa, eighth century (upper right); Sacciyā Mātā temple, sanctum, image of Sacciyā Mātā in the form of Mahiṣāsuramardinī (lower right).

Plate 27. Dadhimatī Mātā temple: portable image in procession on the eighth day of Navrātrī (top). Didwana, Pādāmātā temple, north wall, ca. ninth century (bottom): Mahiṣāsuramardinī on the *bhadra*, with a small scene showing Durgā emerging from the earth in front of cowherds and cattle (bottom, upper left).







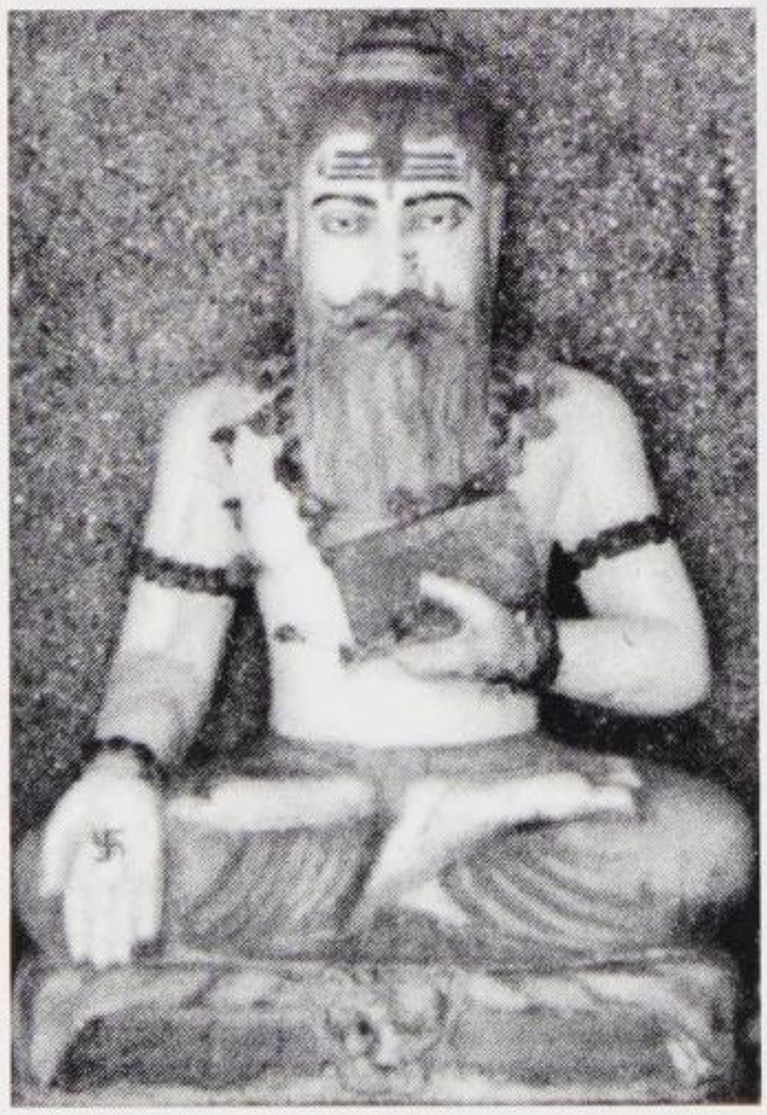


Plate 28. Jodhpur, Kriyā Bhavan: painting of Jñānsundar and marble *guru mūrti* of Jñānsundar (top left and center right) (photographs Babb). Osian, Luṇādrī hill, *dādābāṛī*, installed by Yati Premsundar 1909, renovated 1952 (top right). Goth-Manglod, Dadhimatī Mātā temple: marble sculpture of Dadhīci enshrined in the northwest corner of the temple's colonnade (bottom left); framed in *gūḍha-maṇḍapa*: a painting of Dadhimatī's emergence witnessed by a cowherd and a colored print of Dadhīci giving up his flesh (bottom, center and right).

Plate 29. Osian *sthānas* in community worship: Pīpalā Devī temple, sanctum, eighth-century icons of Kubera, Durgā-Mahiṣāsuramardinī, and Gaṇeśa (top); Luṇādrī hill, *dādābāṛī*: lower footprints, Kanakaprabha, 1189 CE, upper footprints, Ratnaprabhasūri, installed by Yati Premsundar, 1909 CE (bottom left). Kesarīya Kaṅvar installed in Viṣṇu temple no. 1; Bhojak Bhomiyā, 1823 CE; Bhāti *jhunjhār* (bottom, center to right).

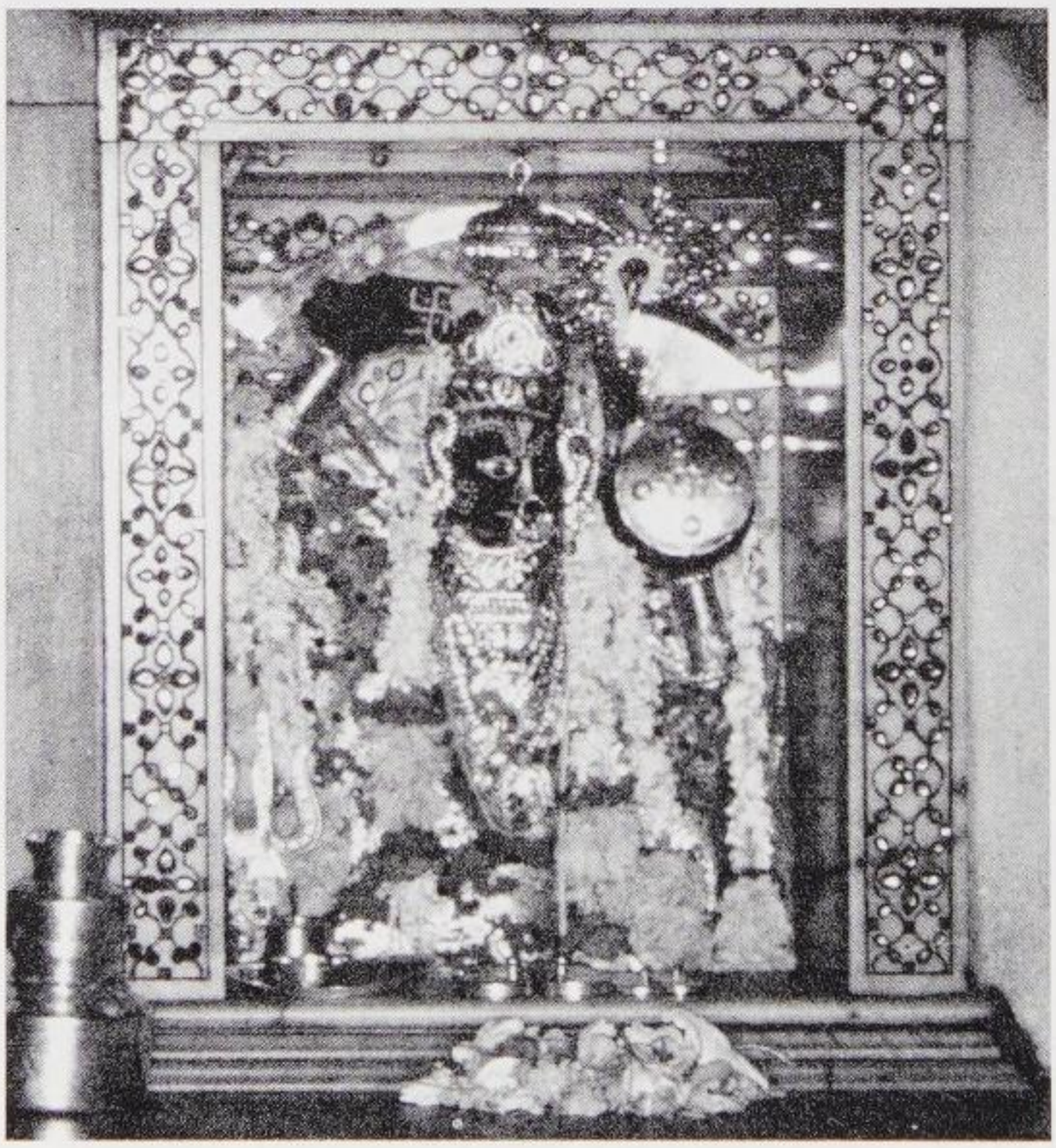


Plate 30. Osian, Mahāvīra temple, reconfigured courtyard, *jāt denā* ceremony in front of Bherū shrine (top); dressed images of Sacciyā Mātā during Navrātrī and Mahāvīra during annual temple festival (bottom).

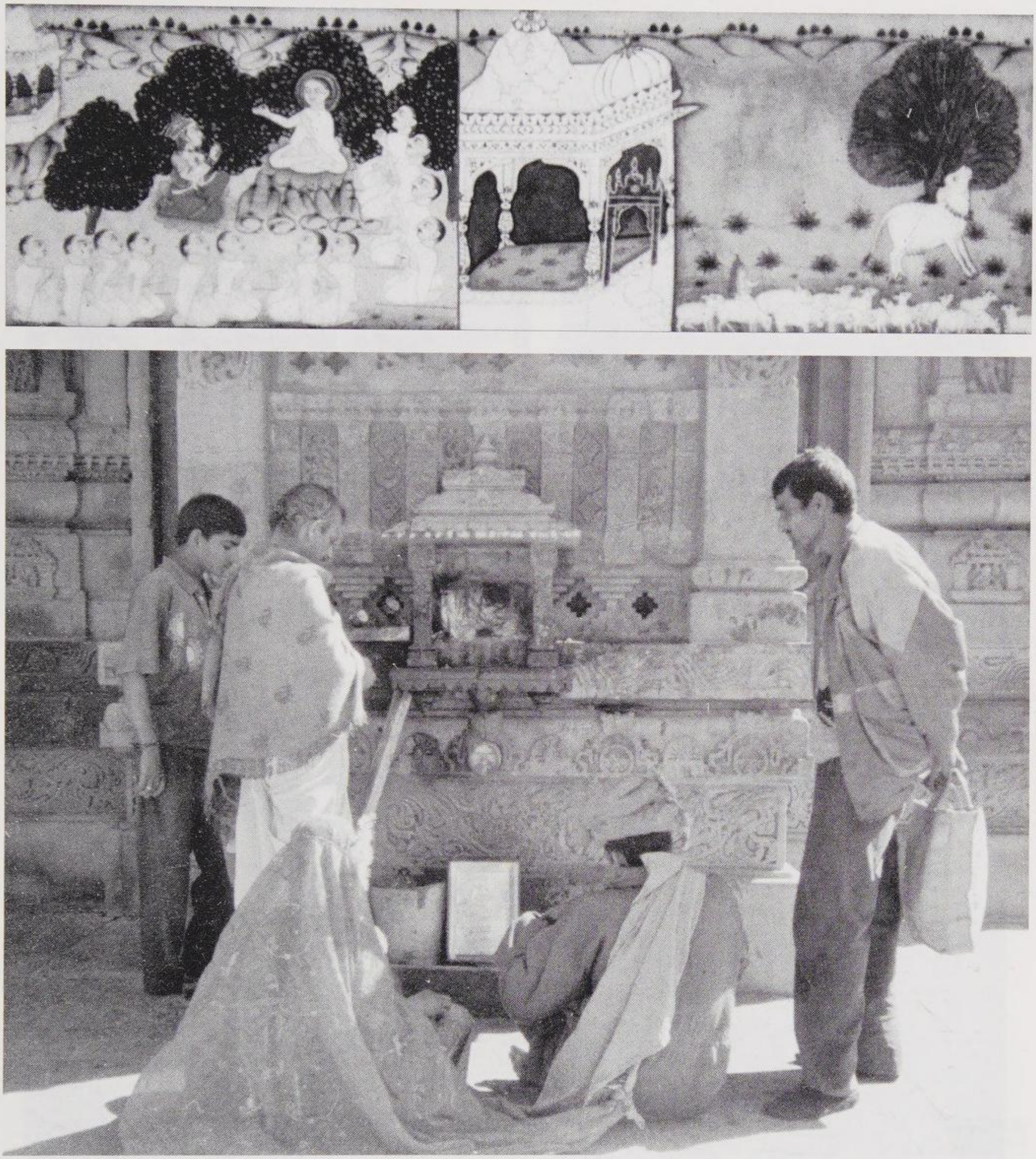
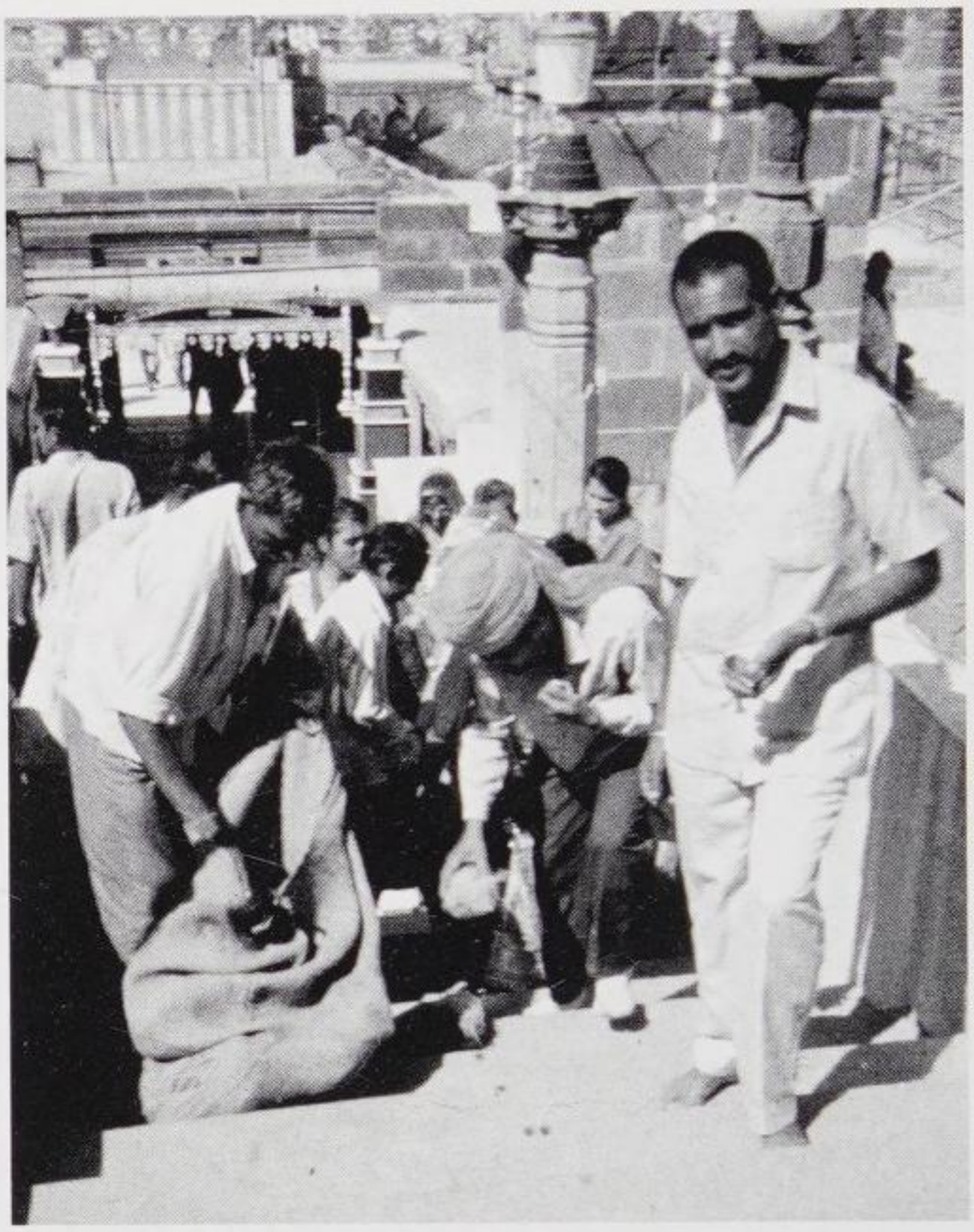
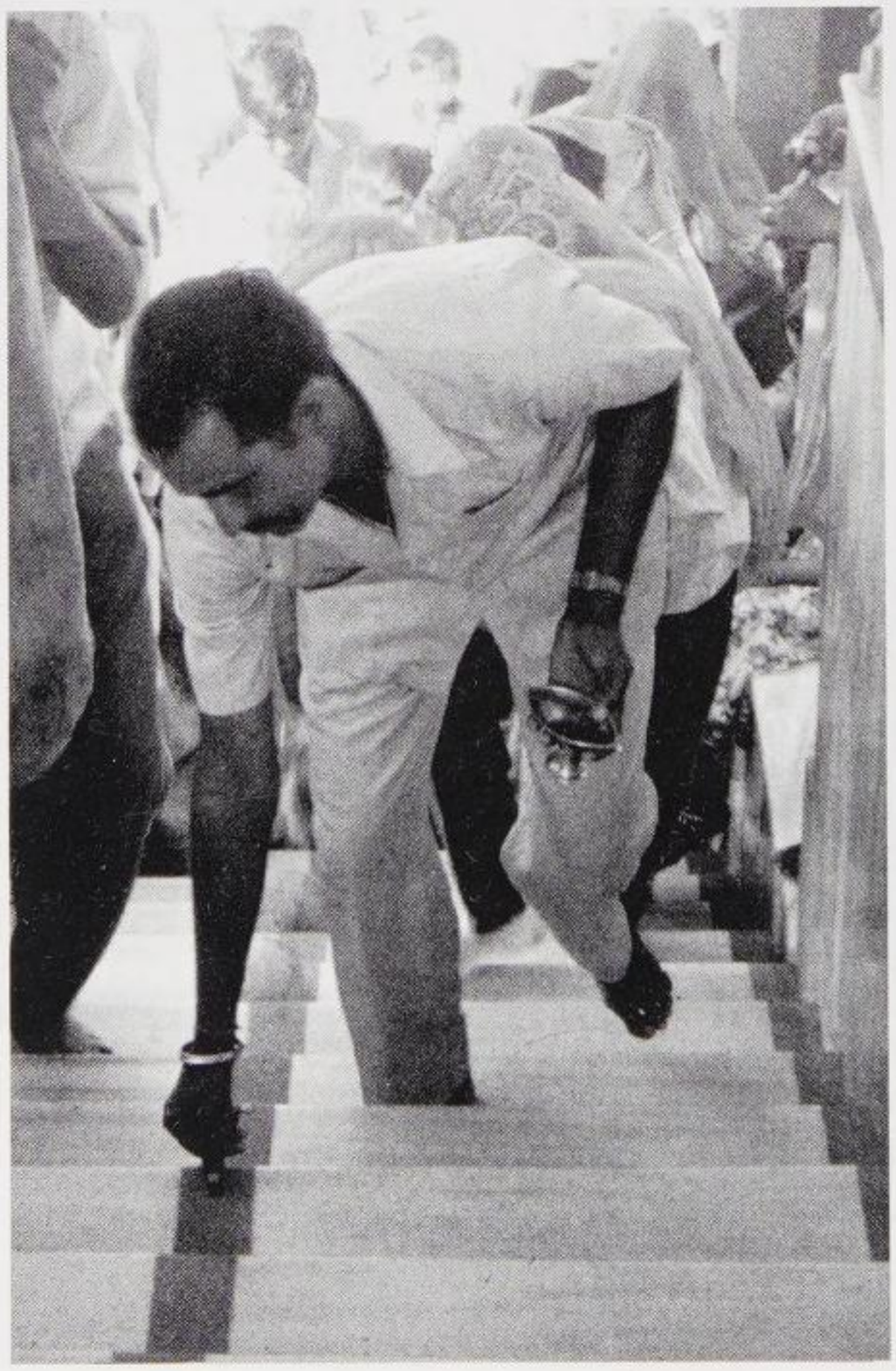


Plate 31. Osian, Jain school collection, photograph of a nineteenth-century *paṭṭāvalī* miniature painting showing Ratnaprabhasūri converting Sacciyā Mātā and a cow locating the image of Mahāvīra (top left and right); *jāt denā* ceremony in front of renovated Bherū altar mounted on the west *bhadra*-balcony of the Mahāvīra temple (bottom).





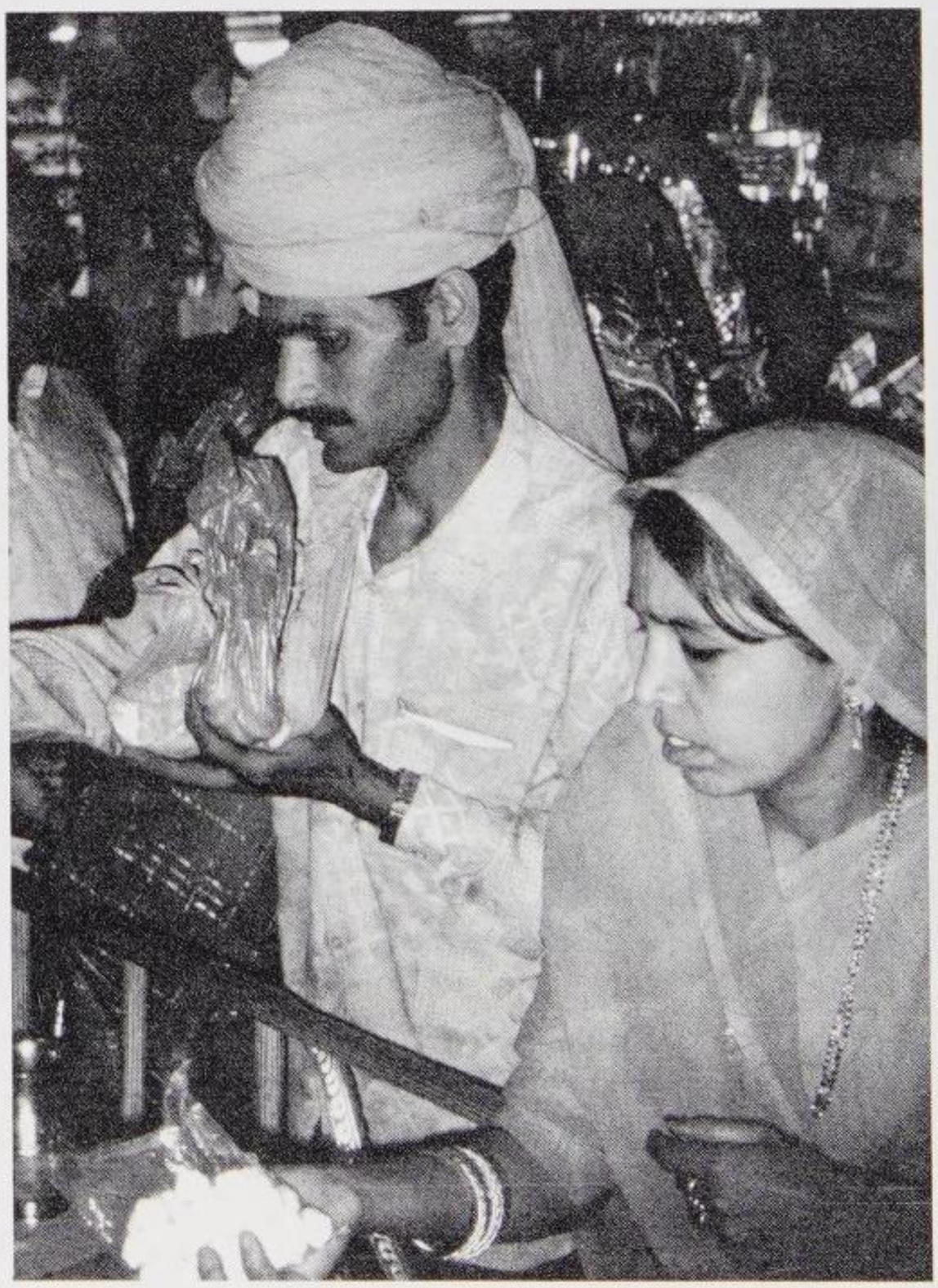
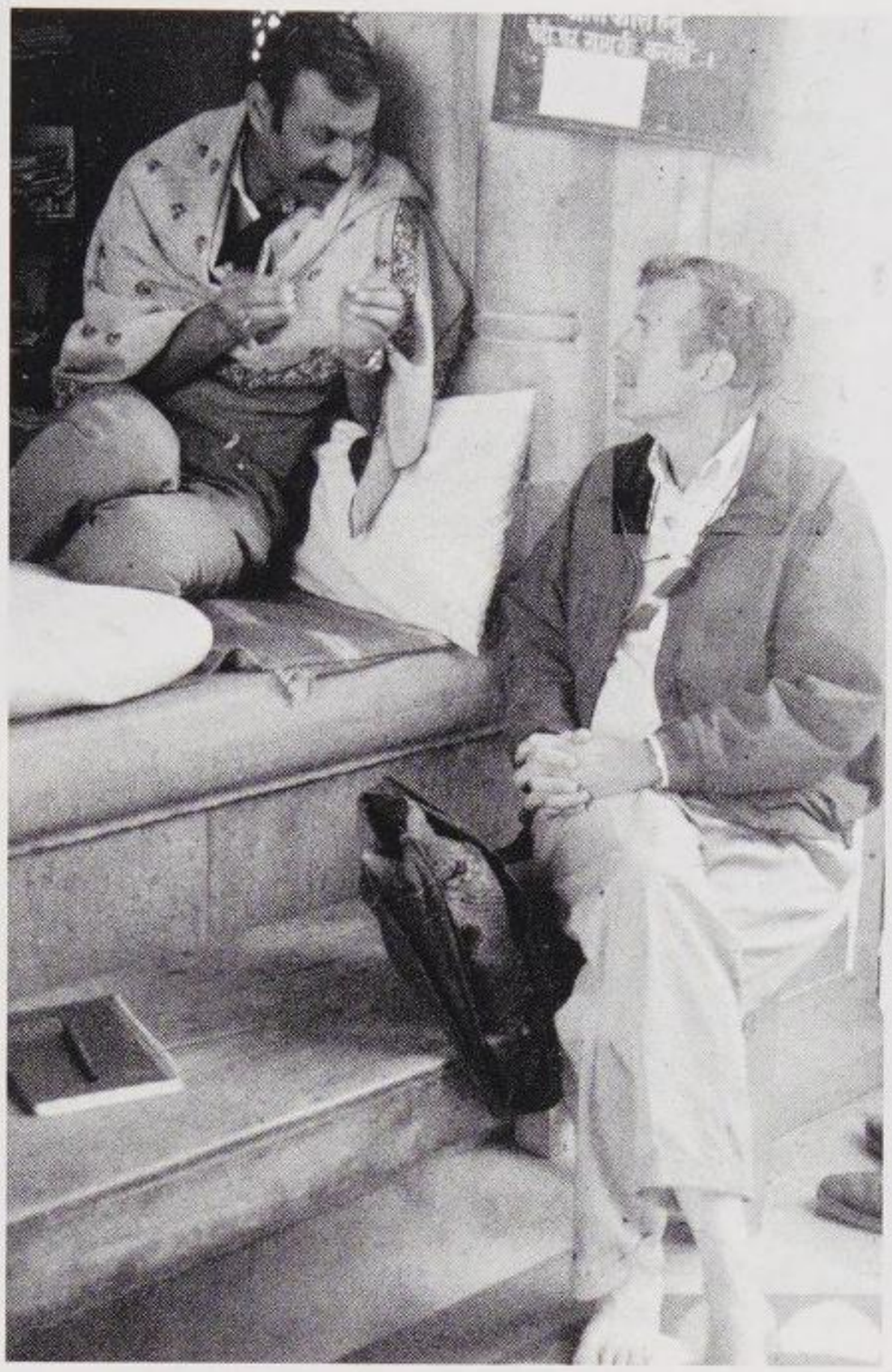


Plate 32. Osian, Sacciyā Mātā complex: pilgrims ascending the hill on the eighth day of Navrātrī (upper left); *jāt denā* procession placing coconuts on each step (top right; bottom left) and making offerings (lower right).



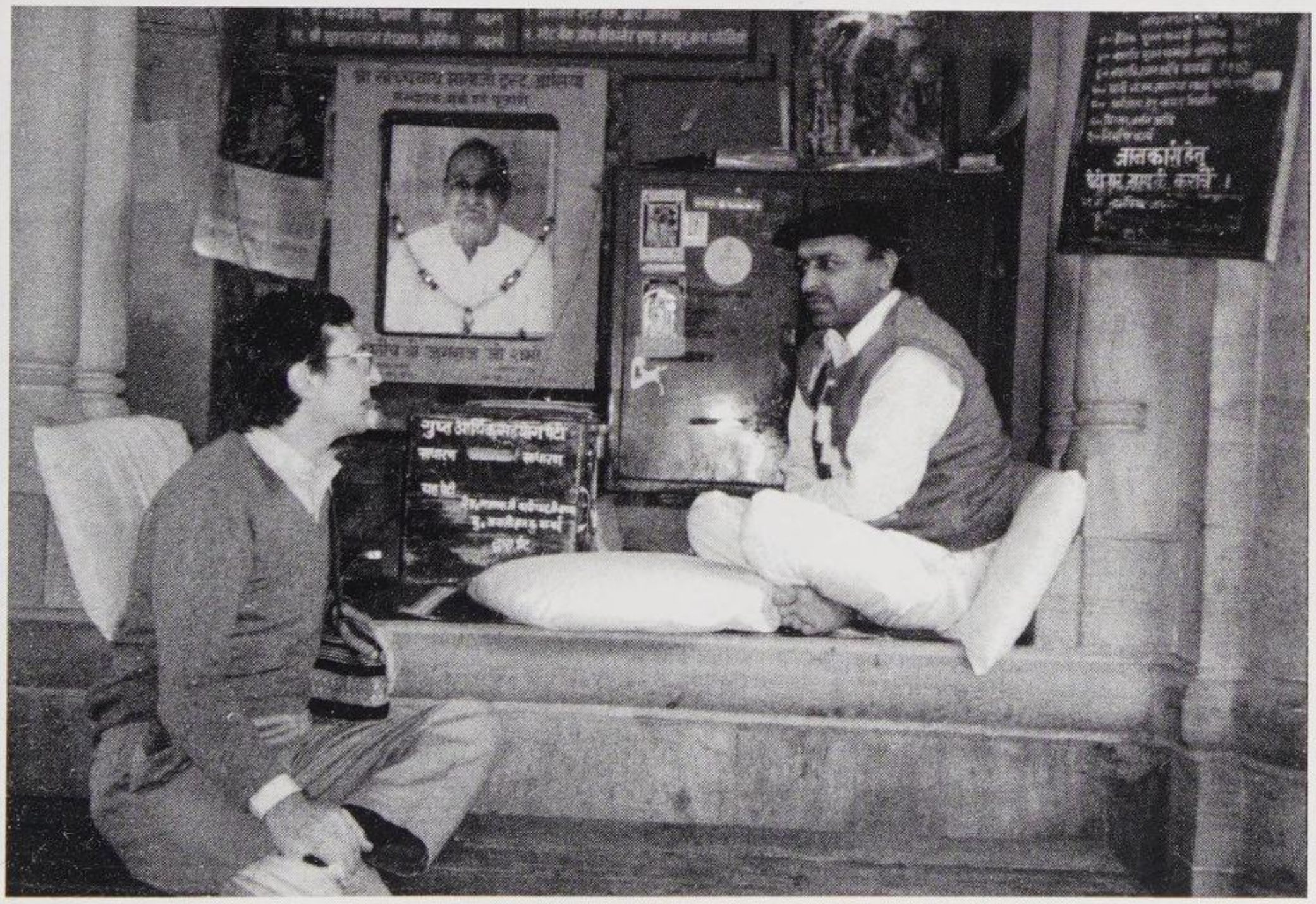


Plate 33. Osian, interviews and interactions: Meister and Babb on roof of the old Jain school; Babb interviewing Om Prakash Sharma (top); Cort and Vimal Sharma, in front of a memorial photograph of his father, Jugrāj, at the entry gate to Sacciyā Mātā hill (bottom).

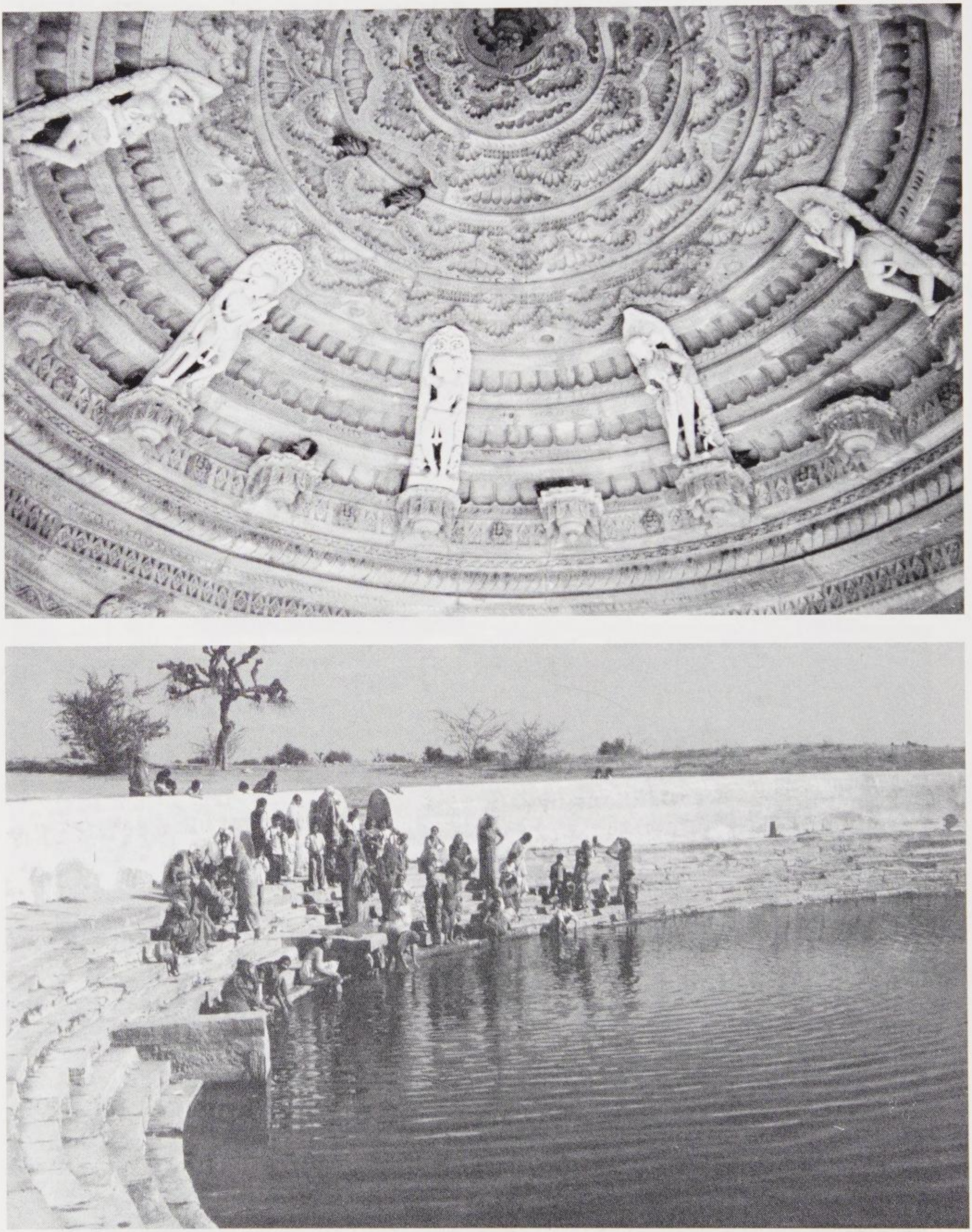
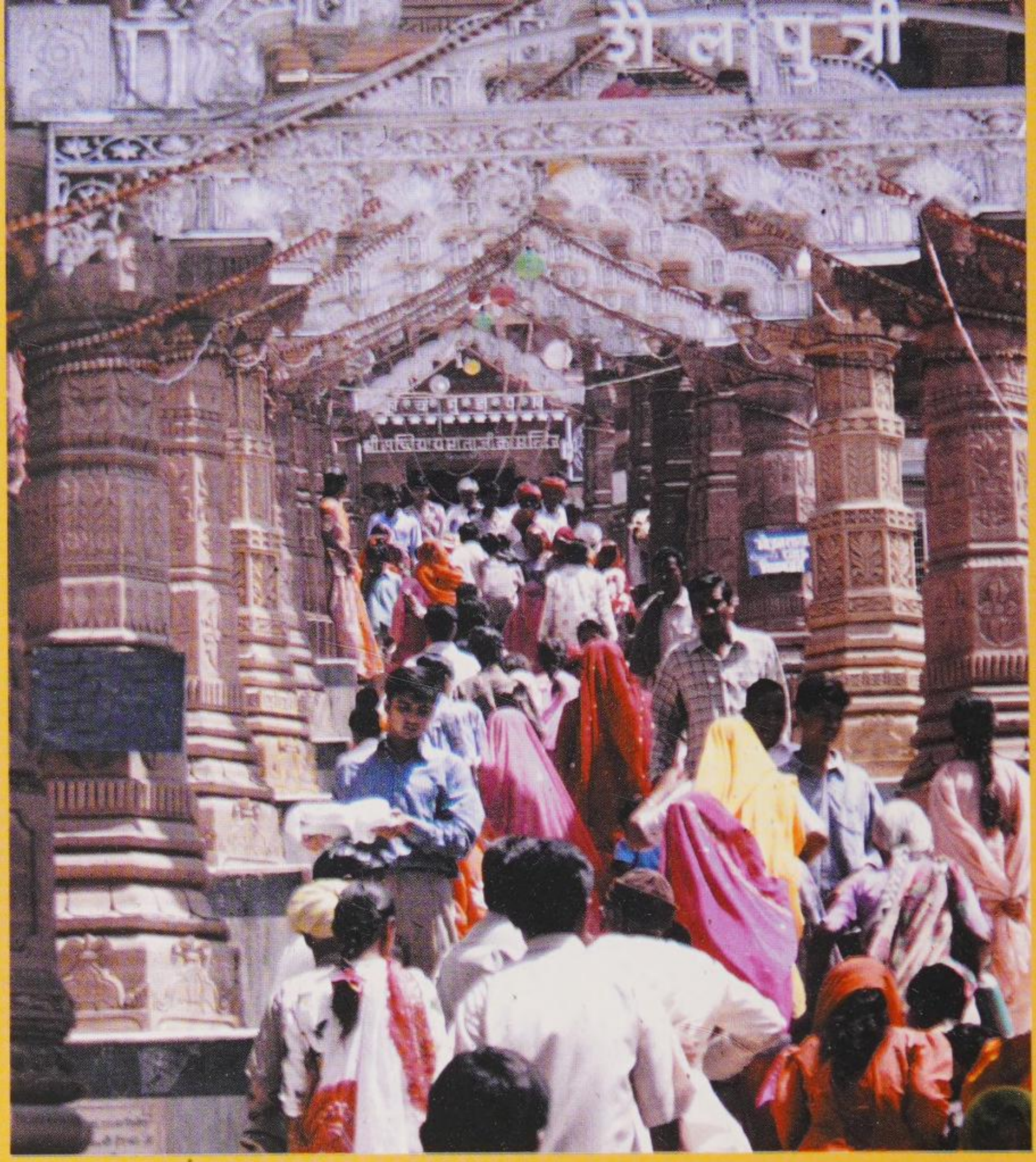


Plate 34. Osian, Mahāvīra temple, *valānaka* entry hall, renovated and reinstalled eleventh-century ceiling; Goth-Manglod, Dadhimatī temple complex, *kapāl kuṇḍ*.



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